

INSIDE: A new thrust in controlling the arms race

Maclean's

OCTOBER 17, 1983

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.25

BRITISH COLUMBIA BOILS OVER



**William Bennett's
social revolution**

**The threat of a
general strike**

**What the struggle
means to the nation**

**An exclusive interview
with the premier**



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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OCTOBER 17, 1993 VOL. 36 NO. 42

COVER

Bennett's cuthack crusade

William Bennett stunned his province and the rest of the country three months ago with a series of draconian measures to reduce the size and role of the B.C. government. But opposition to the premier is still building and it embraces a far wider group than politicians and unions alone. The premier is sticking to his guns, however, as he told Peter C. Newman in an exclusive *Maclean's* interview. — **Page 22**



The Crow's last stand

A building block in Canada's history as a nation is dying a slow and rhetoric-filled death as the abolition of the Crow rate is debated in the House of Commons. — **Page 20**



A golden looking-glass

A remarkable exhibition called *Dutch Portraits of the Golden Age* holds up an eternal mirror to the virtues and vices of art patrons in 17th-century Holland. — **Page 34**



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A crucial stage in START

As talks resumed in Geneva, the United States tabled a new concept in strategic arms reduction. The Soviet response indicated that it will be a tough session. — **Page 36**



More muscle for strikers

Controversial new anti-strike-breaking legislation in Quebec has likely won the 19 votes among workers, but at the cost of employer bitterness. — **Page 56**



Witnessing a revolt

For Maclean's Vancouver Bureau Chief Jane O'Hara, this week's cover story provided a rapid introduction to the traditionally turbulent politics of British Columbia and the personality of Premier William Bennett. O'Hara, the magazine's former National Editor, took up her new post on Sept. 27. A day later, as she reported the increasing mood of public apprehension in the face of widespread social disruption, it became increasingly apparent that the Bennett revolution had become an issue of pre-occupied national significance. Its compelling news value made it a natural choice for the cover. It is the second time in six months that Maclean's has devoted a cover story to Bennett's British Columbia and it reflects the magazine's determination to place into a coherent national perspective events that might otherwise have appeared to be of only passing provincial or regional interest.



O'Hara: a rapid introduction

As O'Hara and local correspondents, across toward this Oct. 8 deadline, Senior Contributing Editor Peter C. Newman delivered his exclusive interview with Premier Bennett who, although a public figure, is a reclusive man who rarely agrees to undergo media interrogation. Newman, who is living for part of the year on his yacht near Sidney, B.C., just outside Victoria, while he writes a history of the Hudson's Bay Co., said Bennett looked exhausted from the marathon round-the-clock sittings of the legislature he has endured. Added Newman "He had spent the previous night campy up under a blanket of old newspapers on his office couch. But he came eager to display all the euphoria of an 404 Testament prophet witnessing his vision come true."

Kevin Doyle

Maclean's October 3, 1983

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Bravo, Canada 1

Well done, Canada! We should all be proud that a group of Canadians had the guts to challenge for the supremacy of the America's Cup (Sailing Around Canada 1, *Colony*, Oct. 5). They started from scratch and ended in sixth place. Terry McLaughlin ended up helping Australia to train for the match with the Americans (it paid off, they beat them). To be able to design a 15-metre, train a crew, beg for money and then end up in the quarter final—that is a superb performance. They suffered the indignity of having to set up the 12-metre yacht in the Newport Sluggard (more a junkyard), away from the plush surroundings of the other competitors. They wanted to win. They should be applauded (three cheers to Peter G Newman) and supported in their next attempt in 1985 at Perth. Maybe they will have a secret helper too!

—ALAN GIBSON,
Agincourt, Ont.

Of tolerance and integrity

Why is it, I wonder, that some people when confronted by someone at variance with their own must oppose to their opponents methods that are unworthy and even nefarious? Such is the case with Bentley G. Hicks in his letter in the Sept. 26 issue of *Modern's* (Religion, Aug. 22) when he states that those of us who hold a position we feel to be in conformity with the teaching of holy scriptures and holy tradition (and therefore a theological consideration, not a sociological consideration) and reject the "seduction" of women are bigots,



Canadian crew: a secret helper too?

sexists and no better than racists. It seems impossible for Hicks to believe that there are countless numbers of people (both male and female) who are sincerely distressed for good and valid reasons that several churches of the Anglican communion have taken it upon themselves to depart from universal Catholic custom by purporting to ordain women to the priesthood. It may be of little moment to Hicks that the Orthodox, Roman Catholics and Old Catholics have rejected this innovation. But he should not try to adorn with respectability his denunciations of un-Catholic actions by claiming that "every generation is not to deny any of the fundamental tenets of Catholicism." Such a claim in the face of clear rejection of those practices by the three major branches of the Catholic church is simply ludicrous. As a Christian, Hicks should try at least to allow for the integrity of those with whom he disagrees.

—THE VENERABLE JOSEPH E. DETMERS,
Archdeacon of the Midwest Anglican
Catholic Church,
Indianapolis, Ind.

Blacks in tank tops no threat

I am amazed that you would print a blatantly racist column by Fred Bruning on Jesse Jackson's possible presidential candidacy (Jesse Jackson has his men dream Sept. 19). Jackson's allies choose, however, not to see the result of Americans' fear of the "image" of U.S. cabinet members dressed in tank tops as they say of the dictator's terror at the prospect of some very competent black cabinet members beginning to alight the black community the fear share of the economic per that they have obviously been denied for so long.

—DAVID FRENCH,
New York City

PASSAGES

RETIRED: Veteran New Democratic Party MP Stanley Knowles, 73, two years after suffering a massive stroke. Although friends and family described his recovery as miraculous, Mr. St. David said: "It was waiting for a breakthrough. I think he realized he won't improve." Knowles was first elected to Parliament in 1969 and was defeated only once—by John Diefenbaker in the Conservatives to their stunning sweep in 1985. Knowles, known as "the conscience of Parliament," is remembered for his stands on social issues and for the vast range of his knowledge of parliamentary procedure. When he left hospital after his long battle to overcome the effects of his long-term hemorrhage, he declared: "I haven't lost my intelligence about myself, and my life, and what I did."

FORGOTTEN: British novelist William Golding, with the Nobel Prize for literature, by the Swedish Academy in Stockholm. In contrast to the controversy surrounding Luch Wladimir's Nobel Peace Prize (page 46), few could argue that Golding was not a worthy recipient. He is best known for his first novel, *Lord of the Flies* (1954), a poignant exploration of the nature of evil through the guise of an adventure tale about a group of children marooned on a desert island.

DEIN: Transcendentalist leader, St. Patrick's Cathedral. After Pope Paul VI appointed him in 1965, Cooke became the U.S. representative for his church on many issues, notably abortion.

DEED: Band leader and tenor saxophonist Freddy Martin, 70, in Newport Beach, Calif. Martin, born in Cleveland and raised in the Knights of Pythias orphanage in Columbus, Ohio, helped establish the "sweet" jazz sound, which mainstream jazz musicians referred to as "schmaltz." His career took a sudden upward turn in 1941 when he and his orchestra recorded *Tommy Boy*, which he had adapted from Ted Koop's first jazz concert.

PARDONED: Canadian Francis Sidney Jaffe, 68, by Florida officials, after he had served slightly more than two years of a 30-year sentence for 28 counts of violating the state's land sales practices act. Because two U.S. housing buyers kidnapped Jaffe on a Toronto street in 1981, his case has been a point of irritation between Canada and the United States as high diplomatic levels.

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Sudbury's lush greenery

Every week I read Allan Fotheringham's columns with pleasure. However, I found his comparison of all of Ontario resembling a provincewide Sudbury in the event of nuclear fallout to be in the poorest of taste (Sudbury up to 39 beds, Sept. 18). I have lived in Sudbury for the past 16 years (formerly in southern Ontario), and although a very small portion of this area is nuclear black, the greater part abounds with clean, pollution-free lakes and rivers and forests lack with greenery. Please, Allan, do not be so quick to use our fair city for your creative comparison. Think of us when you would like to have a refreshing swim and your waterfront is closed.

—CHRISTINE FARNELL
Sudbury, Ont.

As usual, I was checking out Allan Fotheringham's column until he made that nasty dig about Sudbury in reference to Ontario's official nuclear fallout shelter. We Sudburians are fed up to the teeth with disparaging remarks aimed at our community by members of the media who have not taken the time to see for themselves what Sudbury is really like. Our air pollution count is much lower than our neighbors' down south. And there are many sparkling, clean lakes right at our doorstep. We also have lots of trees and grass and other vegetation, even on our famous rocks. If, as Fotheringham hints, the present-day Sudbury is representative of what our province might look like after nuclear fallout, then Ontarians have nothing to worry about.

—PEGGY MERRINS
Sudbury, Ont.

The wives of Juan Perón

Your article *The role of the Iron Lady* (Cover, Sept. 5) states "Her [Isabella Marcos] husband's rush for power at the side of a political strongman has led to inevitable comparisons with Eva Perón, the first wife of former Argentine president Juan Perón." I would like to set the record straight: Eva Perón was Juan Perón's second wife. Juan Perón was a widower when he married Eva Perón.

—PETER RADURA
Milton, Ont.

Memorial's too few freshmen

If the writer of your article *The many freshmen, few few grads* (Education, Sept. 5) had realized that Canada does not extend only from British Columbia to the Maritime provinces, he might have included some discussion of University of Newfoundland (the only non-Maritime province university in Atlantic

Canada) to find an interesting exception to the national trend of overcrowded universities. Because of the introduction of a third year in the high school program, there were no high school graduates in June, 1965, and first-year enrolment at MUN this year has dropped by more than half.

—JAMES KEOG
Rama, N.S.

Saskatchewan in the limelight

The aptness of your report on rural telephone connections in Saskatchewan was typical of the eastern newspapers that is all too typical of your magazine (Party line result in Saskatchewan, Canada, Sept. 12). It leaves the distinct impression that Saskatchewan is still populated by isolated farmer-folk hamlets, outcrops, gravel roads and one-room schoolhouses. Any visitor to this province would quickly learn that the Progressive Conservative policies of Premier Grant Devine have thrust Saskatchewan into the international limelight. Perhaps that does not sit well with the mandarins in Parliament Hill or with William Dene, but the industry is not lost on those of us who live here. It may not be so that the East craves from us, but perhaps the belated population back there will consider our tribulations the next time they freeze their leeches with Saskatchewan potash or make themselves a white-sauce sandwich with Saskatchewan wheat.

—MICHAEL MARTIN
Saskatoon

The reporting of the Saskatchewan party line situation was reasonable and fair. The headline, however, seems much to be desired for accuracy and professional good judgment. A "result?" Now, really. Fortunately, the story describes the headline. Unfortunately, the head also describes the correspondent in the eyes of many lay readers who believe reporters or correspondents also write the heads on their stories.

—H. JAMES GREGG
Assistant Vice-President,
Public Affairs,
Saskatchewan Telecommunications
Regina

When English becomes illegal

I have been following the debate regarding French-language rights in Manitoba. I am amazed at the support that has been given by the federal government in Ottawa toward advancing this cause of French-speaking Canadians in that province. During the past several years the federal government has been making vast language rights of more than 800,000 English-speaking Quebecers have been steadily

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eroded. By means of Bill 101, the provincial government has made the English language virtually illegal in Quebec. Montreal was Canada's third-largest English-speaking city in 1976, having an Anglophone population of more than 500,000. As a result of the sequestration language legislation of the Parti Québécois, one in seven has left the province. The hypocrisy of Prime Minister Trudeau and his leadership does not advance the cause of either language group. While the rights of the French in other provinces have increased, the rights of the English in Quebec have been diminished. How can Franco-Montebians expect support for their cause while the present situation exists in Quebec?

—WILLIAM W. ROBERTS,
Kirkland, Que.

Another final solution

I would like to ask Prof. Donald Day (Law professorship and a reception, Letter, Aug. 28) why, if productivity is the answer to the recession, the problem has worsened over the years while productivity has increased many scores of times? If we win markets from competitors, what if our competitors already dominating markets—and jobs? Higher productivity under capitalism, which insures an exploited working majority to a fraction of its product, only increases

the absurd surplus that capitalism as a result. The real solution is basic side socialism, wherein, through the social ownership and democratic worker control of the economy through an electoral representative government, production can be planned and directed for social use, with all workers receiving the equivalent of what they produce.

—JAMES REVAL,
St. Catharines, Ont.

Brawling illiterates on the field

Though not always a fan of Allan Rutherford's, I am in complete agreement with his column "When heroes become monsters" (Sept. 30), regarding some of the behaviour and illiterates presently engaged in professional sports. Individuals like Paul Higgins (and his coach, Mike Nykolak) do nothing to improve the situation.

—FRANK E. HEALD,
Alliston, Ont.

I would like to comment on Allan Rutherford's column "When heroes become monsters." What exactly is he trying to prove by telling everyone that Gary Anderson was illiterate and could not read at a sixth-grade level? Does this tell him from here to monster? He obviously feels at what he can do, and that is play football. What a

put-down. He made Anderson sound like a nation human being. These football teams are not paying him all that money to read. Right?

—LINDA THYRVEGE,
London, Ont.

Mila's backwoods feminism

It nearly made me ill to read *Thoroughly old-fashioned Mila* (Cover, Aug. 28). The example set by Mila Maloney is a living insult to all those who have worked for women's rights over the years. Yet it is further suggestive that you see as "political assets" the more obvious faults of Miss Maloney's backwoods conservatism.

—J. E. THOMAS,
Storham, Que.

Reagan takes a traumatic step

I was incensed and insulted to read the article in your People report (Sept. 18) of President Ronald Reagan's hearing problem. Once again, the misguided and misinformed equation of deafness with old age and incipient senility is set forth. It is this small wonder that we hearing-impaired are treated by those who do not know us as cowards for uncertainty and that we often have to face barriers of ignorance and enervated impotence. It is a



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President and Chief Executive Officer, Gulf Canada Limited

Most Canadians seem to agree that a national industrial strategy would help us to sustain the current economic recovery and help us plan realistically and constructively for a world beyond economic recovery.

But other than agreeing that we want less unemployment, more productivity, a Canadian high technology industry - and that we never again want to relive the last two years - there are many different views of what that strategy should be.

While we ponder the problem, we keep missing opportunities to realize our potential - a potential as great as or greater than that of almost any other industrialized nation.

One step toward an industrial strategy that would sooner or later benefit a majority of Canadians, should be the orderly, long-term development of our tremendous energy resources - particularly oil and natural gas.

However, implementing such a strategy would mean changing some of the rules of the energy resource game - or at least having a game in which the rules don't change half way through the season.



John Stolk

What Canadians want most right now is jobs

And labour and industry alike desire higher productivity.

One widely-discussed route to these goals is to stimulate new industries such as high technology. We support this idea.

But Gulf Canada believes that to develop new opportunities, we need strength and growth in the traditional industries upon which much of our economy is built. These have been, and will be for generations, the basic Canadian strengths. They are major users of high technology. They could be bigger users.

The opportunity.

Canada has an enormous supply of oil and gas, resources that people at home and abroad will need and use well beyond the year 2000,

despite the growth of alternate energy sources.

Exploration and development of these resources generates jobs in hundreds of manufacturing industries - from shipbuilding on the east and west coasts to pipeline building and refinery operations across Canada.

Where high technology is concerned, the petroleum industry in 1982 spent millions of dollars on electronic equipment, computers and other "high tech" products. And 1982 was a bad year.

The petroleum industry can provide a major impetus to the Canadian economy if we can turn the industry around.

What do we need to do?

Gulf Canada suggests the following policy measures:

1. The indisputable benefits of

Canadian oil and gas resource development must be recognized - benefits such as security of supply and the opportunity to develop export markets. A commitment now to oil and gas development will help sustain the present economic recovery.

2. Canada should take advantage of the recent decline in international prices to remove the 75% ceiling on Canadian "old" oil. Canada should move to world prices for all its domestic oil production.

3. Governments should continue to re-examine industry/government revenue sharing positions, and consider the following modifications to fiscal policy:

- A reduction of the front-end tax load

This will leave a higher proportion of discretionary income to industry,



Canada's oil sands deposits may make us the most petrol-rich country in the world. Unfortunately, the cost of extracting oil from these stubborn deposits is high. New technology must be developed to make these vast reserves available. The investments needed are in the billions. Yet if our governments can give encouragement to industry today, the oil sands can be a source of future wealth that can put Canada in the forefront of oil-producing nations.

subject to taxation, of course, if not re-invested. Also, it would encourage a higher level of industry activity.

- Further encouragement of oil sands, frontier and heavy oil development.

Special consideration must be given these investments in the future because Canada's long-term opportunities in hydrocarbon development lie in the high-cost, high-risk frontier areas, and the oil sands.

These projects will require a greater assurance of near-capacity operation, through access to export markets on realistic competitive terms.

4. The National Energy Program must be reviewed.

To quote from a study published by the non-partisan C.D. Howe Institute:

"The NEP was introduced to Canadians as a solution to the

nation's energy problems. It promised to unite Canadians and to make them prosper. In its first two years of existence, the NEP has proven to be a major disappointment. New energy challenges are emerging that are quite different from those the NEP was designed to deal with... A recommitment of Canada's energy objectives is already overdue."

Specifically, eliminate the discriminatory aspects of the Petroleum Incentive grants, and introduce an exploration incentive system that treats companies equitably.

Also, eliminate the back-in provision that allows the Federal Government to claim, retroactively, 25 percent of discoveries.

A signal to the investment world.

These changes would telegraph to the international investment com-

munity that foreign investment is welcome and needed in Canada.

There is a growing realization by the Canadian public that Government interference in the petroleum industry has carried a price tag that far exceeds the benefits achieved.

If our economy is to stabilize and grow, there will have to be a fundamental shift in the direction and content of federal policy-making. The message is simple: give us sensible policies we can trust and that will make things happen.

The need for consultation.

Gulf Canada contends that many of the policies that contributed to our recent economic woes were the product of confrontation instead of consultation.

To maintain our current economic recovery - and to plan realistically and constructively for a world beyond economic recovery - we must foster genuine co-operation among business, government and labour.

To that end, Gulf Canada has proposed new approaches to tripartite consultation. Without such genuine consultation, we may be doomed to go on spinning our wheels, missing opportunities and - at worst - reliving the experience of the last two years.

If you would like copies of a recent speech on reviving Canada's economy by Gulf Canada's President John Stolk, write to:

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A question of sex and the single priest

At a time when the Roman Catholic Church in North America faces turmoil and discord on several fronts, Rev. Andrew M. Greeley, 54, has emerged back as an acute analyst and a forthright spokesman. Long a controversial vocalist at the University of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center, Greeley has, in the past three years, written three provocative best-selling novels that deal with the problems of his church. The Cardinal Sin, The

would be similar to what the Buddhists do. You can make a case that an awful lot of us have cut in our middle 30s. It might be a good idea to have waves of young people coming in. Our research shows we could attract a lot more people to the priesthood if we abolished celibacy, but I think it should be retained. The celibate priest has time to relate more intensely to more people. There is a mystery around priests because they live differently. Their life

not just coming from the men who want to be ordained priests. It comes from perhaps half the Catholic women under 40 who feel church leaders are determined to keep them within their narrowly defined gender roles. And these women are not necessarily militant feminists. But they are angry, and I think they are going to be angry for a long time. The basic problem is that women are being treated as little girls by everyone from the Pope down to the parish priest. I think the Pope is on their side. But, unfortunately, the press accounts of his statements do not always take in the nuances and the qualifications of his statements and so he is wrongly perceived. If you ask most Catholic women, they will say 'Yes, Pope has told us to stay home and have babies.' Now he has not said that or anything even remotely approaching that. But that is how he is perceived. I personally think women should be ordained tomorrow. All that has been said against it is a cryptic form of male chauvinism which implies that women are inferior.

Maclean's: In your novels and your academic studies you repeatedly raise the issue of sex. Why does that become such a central focus for the future of the church?

Greeley: There is a general feeling that the official church has no idea of how important sex is in marriage. Sex has become a central focus because the church has permitted itself to be preoccupied with it. I mean you get preoccupied with sex. During its first thousand years, the church had very little to say about the subject except to render it immorality in general terms. Its obsession with regulating what goes on in the bedroom has become a 20th-century phenomenon. Instead of providing people with the motivation they need to grow in love, we are trying to regulate the mechanics of how they make love, which is a bad strategy. The whole birth control issue is not important anymore—as far as birth control goes—because most people do not take it seriously. But it is important as a symptom that church leaders have no notion of the role of sex in marriage. They are afraid of unbridled passion, when the real problem is bridled passion. The more passionate a man and woman are with each other, the more sacramental their marriage, the more effectively they reflect God and God's love. The church is too busy saying 'no, no you can't do that,' with fingers crossed be-



Greeley: the church is sometimes a whore and sometimes a fair lady

Brother's Wife and Ascend into Hell. A fourth, The Lord of the Dance, is scheduled for release next March. The books have generated a mixture of criticism and have brought him fame, usually including an apartment in Chicago, a summer home in Michigan and a winter home in Arizona—as well as the use of many fellow priests. Maclean's correspondent Brian J. Kelly spoke with Greeley in Chicago.

Maclean's: When you look down the list of the church's problems, what stands out at the top?

Greeley: The shortage of priests. In the United States, for example, I think we could get about a half-million young Americans outside becoming priests. If they were told they only had to make an active commitment for a limited period of time—for five or 10 years. That

points to something that transcends this existence. As Kevin Brennan says in The Cardinal Sin, 'Some of us have to live in such a way that it is possible to care passionately about people without jumping into bed with them.'

Maclean's: In your books your fictional priests certainly do not remain celibate. Is the marriage of affairs in real life that high?

Greeley: They are novels. They are not sociology, so I am not estimating proportions. And, indeed, even in the books, most of the priests do not get involved. But the interesting stories are about those who do. We do not have any hard data, but my impression is that most priests keep their vows.

Maclean's: How do women generally fare in the church?

Greeley: Catholic women are madder than hell at the church and the anger is

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cause they know people are going to read and do it.

Maclean's: What is the purpose of the art in your novels?

Greeley: I want to make the point that actual sins are not the worst sins. Kevin Brennan in *The Cardinal Sins* is a victim of pride, which is the worst of all the cardinal sins. It is much worse than lust. The Catholic reviewer however complained about a proud priest in the book, but they all complain about lustful priests. It seems to suggest to me that they may have missed the point of Christianity.

Maclean's: You have talked of the obscurity of some of the Pope's statements. What good is a Pope who is so obscure (that he cannot be understood)?

Greeley: He is an Eastern European romantic philosopher. It would be better if he were clearer, but I do not think he can be. The real problem is the Vatican press office, which does not mediate between him and the media—and may not want to. They may not want to clarify what he is saying for fear that, if they do, it would be a threat to their careers. It is a curious kind of press operation—they seem afraid to explain. The classic example is the Pope's gesture of two years ago about not leaving after your wife. What he meant was not turning your wife into a sex object. Clearly that is what he meant in context. The Pope has no sense of the importance of the world media; he has spent most of his life in a country where television, radio and the papers are discounted because people know there is no truth in them. He has stage presence, but he has no sense that a newspaper reporter has got 700 to 900 words, a TV reporter has 30 seconds, maybe 60 at the most. He has no sense that you simply have to fit what you want to say into that. And there is nobody around to tell the man.

Maclean's: Was Cardinal John Cody, the Archbishop of Chicago who died last year, your mentor?

Greeley: Not really. While he was in office I continued my social research, became a professor at the University of Arizona and switched to writing fiction. He did not interfere with my career at all. I began my battle with him over the closing of Chicago's black secondary schools. I thought the Roman Catholic American church had ever done was to maintain those schools for black kids. I could remain silent about a lot of other things that were happening, but when Cody started to arbitrarily close these schools, then I had to speak out.

Maclean's: How do you define your role in today's church?

Greeley: I try to interpret the noise. I turned to storytelling because stories are a good way to talk about religion. I suppose I realized there would be controversy and hostility. Still, I did not

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write the books for that reason, but be-
cause I thought people would enjoy
reading them and that the books would
make religious points.

Madden's: What do you hope people will
get out of the books?
Greaser: The same thing they would get
from a parable by Jesus, although Jesus
is a much better storyteller than I am.
The parables were to make people stop
and think a bit how God works. That is
really what I am after. But I do not want
to beat people over the head. It has to be
a good story. That is how religious was
passed on for most of human history.

Madden's: Has your success—both fi-
nancial and professional—created any
jealousy and envy among your fellow
priests?

Greaser: That was inevitable. The
money does not really matter that much
to me. I will try to use the money both
responsibly and generously—I will be
funding more social research. The
money matters a lot more to other peo-
ple. Some of my critics in the church are
obsessed with it. The imagination is that
it is all right for a priest to write novels,
but not to have a lot of people read them
so he collects royalties. That is absurd.
But my success, the money and my gen-
eral notoriety, after all, yes, I do not like
it, but I am not going to stop doing what I
do just because it offends people. The
resentment is far greater among the
clergy than the laity—it is widespread.
It bothers me, I would like my fellow
priests to realize what I am trying to do
and be proud of it instead of knocking it.
The sex in my books is pretty mild, cer-
tainly compared to most modern novels.
The sex in those is much more explicit,
although I suspect many priests do not
read modern novels so they have some-
thing to compare it to.

Madden's: How have you received in
the church, far or long?

Greaser: It goes back to the persecution
in the American church today which
says, "Why mess with Greaser?" He is
not going to leave the priesthood. He is
determinedly erudite. The research he
does is painstaking but useful, and he
fights back. He can be mean so just
leave him alone." Now I have my own
base, my own audience and I have be-
come a very difficult person to take as
Madden's: Do you love the church?

Greaser: Yes, and I love being a priest.
My emotions about the church are pas-
sionate. I like what is good in it—the
traditions that shaped me and formed
me. I have enormous affection for it, but
I do not like the things that are bad in it.
At the end of *The Gospel Ship*, Albert
Strass, the Jewish psychiatrist, says
the church is sometimes a whore and
sometimes a fair bride. That comes
from one of St. Peter's epistles. I think
it is a fair image of the church. You love
the fair bride and you want to reform
the whore. ☐

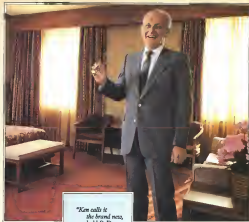


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FOLLOW-UP

Via Rail's new push

It has been two years since then
Transport Minister Jean-Luc Pepin
left Via Rail's services back by one-
half. Although his announcement
caused an enormous public protest, Pepin
insisted that the cuts were necessary
to save \$600 million, which Via
would invest in new equipment. Since
the Nov. 18, 1981, cutbacks, people in
Atlantic and Western Canada, whom
the reduced services particularly inter-
venued, have continued to protest.
Now they seem to have found a receptive
ear in Lloyd Axworthy who in August
replaced Pepin as transport minis-
ter. In his first month in his new port-
folio Axworthy asked Via Rail to look
into re-establishing two discontinued
train routes, one in Western Canada
and one in New Brunswick, and said that
the revival of Canada's passenger rail
service had a high priority. What is
more, Axworthy, a westerner whose
riding in Winnipeg-Port George, appears
sensitive to the damage that the cuts
caused. "I feel quite strongly," he
told *Maclean's*, "that the scars that
were left by the action two years ago
have served in part to affect the credi-
bility of Via Rail."

After his Aug. 12 arrival at the minis-
try of transport, Axworthy lost no time
in setting a new direction for Via Rail.
On Sept. 15 he announced that he had
asked the Crown-owned railway to re-
open direct service between Winnipeg
and Edmonton, through Melfort, Sask.,
and Hudson, a route that the Super
Continental train had followed on its
way from Toronto to Vancouver before
the cuts. The next day he indicated that
he would like to see the re-establish-
ment of a mail, but well-used, dayliner
which had joined the two French-
speaking cities of Edmonton and
Moncton, N.B. Two western trains could
be re-established as early as Oct. 30.
Axworthy also hinted that Via Rail
might restore other routes. One such
train in the Atlantic, which ran between
Montreal and Halifax, through Saint
John and Moncton, was scheduled
for 1982, the national public interest group that has
conducted an unrelenting and profes-
sionally run campaign for the restora-
tion of passenger rail service, con-
tinues to lobby for the return of the
Atlantic. But to the group the transport
ministry's lack of heart in rewarding

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Said Donald Abel, Transport 2000's Saskatchewan president, of Awworthy's September announcements: "It is exactly what we have been waiting for."

While Awworthy's first steps and promises may delight some critics of the federal passenger rail policy, many people remain skeptical about the transport ministry's intentions. Transport 2000's Atlantic president, John Pagan, points out that the ministry had promised new, modern LRC (Light, Rapid, Comfortable) trains to the western and Atlantic regions shortly after the

federal government created Via Rail in 1976. In 1977 then Transport Minister Orrin Long made that promise, as did Pagan in 1982. However, Pagan later explained that the LRCs could not be developed outside the Quebec City-Windsor corridor because other routes did not have any of the specialized service facilities required. Said Pagan: "These trains have been tested since about 1978. But strangely enough it took until about 1982 for this servicing problem to come to the surface. It is hard not to think we are being hoodwinked."

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Still, like many transportation critics Pagan has new hope with Awworthy in the ministry. "We are really quite happy," he noted. "Awworthy, being from outside the Central Canadian corridor, may have some sympathy for the regional viewpoint."

Pagan says Awworthy is entitled to only part of the credit for Via Rail announcements. The other part goes to Pierre Franche, Via Rail's new president, who took over in July, 1982. Under Franche's direction, Via has demonstrated a new openness. In May, in an attempt to soothe the effects of the service cuts, Via put on a new train in Quebec's Gaspé Peninsula. Says Pagan: "Via has developed an interest in flexibility and in hearing new ideas. For instance, it was quite a surprise to see that Gaspé train put on." Via introduced the new overnight train running between Montreal and the Gaspé after receiving hundreds of complaints about the former service, which had forced passengers to change trains halfway in Montpelier. Originally expected to hire three or four cars, that train has become a success and over the summer carried six to 10 cars. Still, like the entire Via system and most passenger train systems in the world, the Gaspé service runs at a loss. Popularity and profitability do not go hand in hand in the area of distributing returns. In total, the federal government subsidy for Via this year will be about \$144 million, \$194 million more than in 1982.

As for the promised expansion of LRCs that are still operating only in the Windsor-Quebec City corridor, Via Rail and Awworthy say that they are investigating various kinds of new routes for the Atlantic and western regions. Explained Brian Heath, assistant director of Via Rail's public relations: "We do not even know if the LRC is the right sort of equipment that should be developed. We are looking at many, many different options [for the regions] right now."

Awworthy still must convince the critics of federal rail policy that Via will properly address and resolve the problems the cuts created. Still, he appears sympathetic to the complaints of people living in Eastern and Western Canada. "I think if there has been a weakness [in Via], it is the preoccupation with passenger rail traffic in the corridor," he noted. "As a result, not as much attention is being paid to the regional services." For their part, many Canadians who live outside Central Canada look forward to the day when they can take a train, even if it is the same old equipment that the government once so shrilly withdrew.

—MICHAEL CLOGGISTON in Halifax



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DATELINE: GREECE

Rothschild's villa woes

British millionaire banker Jacob Rothschild and his family used to spend peaceful vacations in their luxury villa on the Greek island of Corfu in the Ionian Sea. But on April 9 Greek Supreme Court decision upholding a 1937 law banning foreign ownership of properties within Greece's border areas now threatens their enjoyment of the island retreat, and for them and for hundreds of other foreigners in Greece, the prospect of expulsion from their vacation homes looms ominously.

The 1937 property law, based on national security reasons, mostly covered the islands of Corfu, Crete and the Dodecanese. Although it was technically in-

Bellevue must pay the Rothschilds and to rule on the return of the title to the heirs.

Although the authorities may not force the Rothschilds to leave their villa for several years, there is no appeal process. The law affects the properties of an estimated 800 foreigners in Corfu alone, many of them from Canada and the United States. It also applies to Greeks who have bought property from foreigners—if the foreigners never legally owned the properties, then the Greeks who bought them do not hold valid titles. For many Greek residents, the law has another negative economic impact. Since tourists account for 90



Rothschild's villa—vacation retreats have become costly legal nightmares.

per cent of the island's income, many islanders worry about the extensive press coverage that the Rothschild case has involved. They fear that tourists will avoid a region depicted as hostile.

For their part, tourism industry officials remain hopeful that the government will intervene to amend the 1937 law. And in view of the crippling inheritance taxes that Bellevue will have to pay—usually about 30 per cent of the total estate—authorities have speculated that he might accept a financial settlement from the Rothschilds. But his lawyer, Constantine Natsopoulos, dismisses that suggestion. "Jacob Rothschild is an emigrant. My client is the owner." Clearly, until the Greek government amends an outdated law, foreigners' vacation retreats will continue to be their costly legal nightmares.

—MICHAEL SHAPIRO
in Corfu

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VANCOUVER CALGARY EDMONTON SEATTLE

COLUMN

Why kids are so good these days

By Arthur Silver

Loyalty all over the place. Widespread unemployment. Dwindling job prospects. But at least the kids aren't as awful as they used to be.

For weeks I have been hearing professors complaining with delight about this year's batch of students. They're bright, they're polite, they're hard-working. They read a lot and discuss intelligently. University bookstores, used to standing back, would surprise you by publishing every year, one new re-ordering frantically to keep up with student demand for supplementary texts. Librarians, who lamented for years that professors made them buy books students never consulted, now face complaints from students who can't find enough books on the shelves.

And the kids are nice! Their foremothers in the late 1960s tended to interrupt lectures (even mine) with a loud, "That's a load of crap." With today's kids it's always "Excuse me, sir," and "Good morning, Professor," and polite questions about what they're studying.

So why are students working so much harder, standing so much more serious, and acting so much more respectfully than their hippie-freak professors? Why, it's the haunting prospect of unemployment, of course, the fact of their fruitless search for a job with a tax that was okay but not okay enough. One way to avoid that problem, at least for a time, is to study hard, get good marks and go on to professional or graduate training. "We want to stay away from here as long as we can," said one of my bright, young chaps the other day. Better to do a law degree or even a PhD than face the brutal job market now. So, even though the 1980s have seen the near-complete disappearance of academic job openings, graduate enrollments in my department are 25 per cent higher this year than in 1976-1978.

Indeed, at my level, students may be starting to find that studying is kind of fun compared to what they'll have to do when the studies are over. "How can you be so stupid?", I asked a class last year, "when there's nothing but unemployment waiting for you after your graduation?" "We'll worry about that when we face it," one of them answered. "Meanwhile, we just want to enjoy university."

But the evil day must come at last, and when it does, most students must be as well prepared as they can. They know by now that an ordinary BA is no

were ticket to a job, they have learned the lesson that good enough is not good enough, and nothing could have driven it home better than the plight of those thousands of Ontario high school graduates refused admission to university this year because while they passed Grade 12, they hadn't passed with high enough marks.

Little wonder that students are concerned about marks. And little wonder that they're studying hard to get them. Economic depression has insured them no serious slugging. Since the abolition of the strap, there has been nothing like the prospect of unemployment to keep kids in order. In Quebec, separatism has suffered a terrible blow, as young people have challenged their PQ leaders for laxity in standards and abandoned the dream of a western wilderness to work for their own future careers. Across the country the crime for sit-ins and demonstrations, after wrackings and confessions,

Herpes has frightened university students out of the sack and into the stacks—a great boon to scholarly endeavor

tion has quite faded away, while ill-henry rights burn late.

We have come a long way since the days of the hippies, the typhoid and the Cultural Revolution. Back then, when I properly looked at my students last year, and nobody doubted he would get the job of his dreams—or live without working if he wanted to—it didn't seem to matter whether anybody learned anything. "You may be assured," a primary school principal boasted to me in 1978, "that we don't teach grammar or spelling here." And my boss informed me that a teacher was not supposed to teach, but just sit around the table and roly with the students. The important thing was how you related to them. Nowadays students want to be taught. They have even out their last shirt so they can hear the lecture better. It's good preparation for job interviews.

Back in the 1960s, when ministries of education were busy tearing down classroom walls and curriculum structures, the students' council at the University of Montreal used to read quotations from Chairman Mao over the loudspeakers in the cafeteria every day

at lunchtime, and the student newspaper in the faculty of business administration published features on how to build the golden socialist future. Now students' councils help organize "Cultural Days" in the university, and the University of Toronto Faculty published a whole supplement of advice last month on how to prepare for the job hunt.

Sure, you can find the odd middle-aged professor who yawns for the 1980s, whose hair is still too long and whose beard is still too straggly, who claims that students are not so interesting as they used to be. He'll tell you that they are only dull plodders, as busy cramming that they have no time to think or question anything. But never believe it. The questions they ask at this point are as clever as ever—and much more to the point. The complaining professor is only a whining misanthrope, a former hippie himself who can't accept the fact that the days of his youth are over.

These wild and revolutionary days of the 1960s have become only a subject of curiosity for today's students. "What was it like," they ask, "to live in the Sixties?" And some, with just the slightest hint of longing: "Those must have been exciting times."

Yeah, sure it was. Really exciting. Thank God they're over. I remember those days—the classes interrupted by political demonstrations, the dreary attempts to get students to discuss books they hadn't read because they had been too busy revolutionizing society, popping dope, or doing their own thing. I remember the fellow who came to the class for a great first year at university—not because of what he had learned in my class but because he had, as he put it, "lost his virginity" with a girl he loved there.

There have been girls to be around in the Sixties; a bright-eyed young man said to me recently, "All that excitement, that sense of change, and all that free sex. Nowadays everybody's so scared of herpes, there's no action at all."

Maybe that's why they're all so busy studying. Herpes has frightened them out of the sack and onto the stacks.

Well, there you have it: unemployment and herpes, the two great boons to scholarly endeavor in our time. I wouldn't have it any other way.

Arthur Silver is an associate professor of history at the University of Toronto.





Bennett in Vancouver last week; protest in Victoria; Bennett (below), overnight, the focus of a nationwide debate

CANADA/COVER

British Columbia boils over

By Jane O'Hara

When British Columbia Premier William Bennett left the campaign trail last April, he promised a government of old-fashioned conservative restraint. To British Columbians, hurt more than most Canadians by the recent recession, the message had an appealing ring. Then, two months after his Social Credit Party won an overwhelming victory in May, voters were stunned by the premier's fierce determination to implement his radical measures virtually overnight. What Bennett now is attempting to do is nothing short of totally redefining the economic and social contours of his province. The heart of that revolution was a legislative program, containing 38 bills that did everything from cutting the civil service by 35 per cent to eliminating the human rights commission and the rent control board. Underlying the program was an almost messianic fervor. Bennett seems to virtually rewrite the postwar social contract, and change fundamentally the

voters' expectations of what their government can do for them. Now after three months of demonstrations and protest and with the threat of a general strike hanging over the province, Bennett's "Bible War" is much more than a matter of provincial concern. It has become the focus of a nationwide debate.

Bennett's massive restructuring has aroused profound fear and anger in a province already suffering from economic dislocation and 18-per-cent unemployment. Last week, as other provincial governments with heavy deficits studied the B.C. experiment closely, signs of a deepening confrontation were everywhere. The forestry sector, the backbone of the province's economy, was facing an industry-wide lockout as 300 loggers continued a wildcat strike. Contract negotiations with the province's 250,000 public employees were stalled as 1,600 people were scheduled to lose their jobs on Oct. 31. The already tenuous relations between the Socialists and the opposition New Democratic Party reached a new low when NDP leader David Barrett was forcibly dragged off the floor of Victoria's Executive Legisla-

ture and ejected for challenging the Speaker during an all-night debate. At the same time, the Solidarity Coalition, a 300,000-strong protest movement representing labor and community groups, continued its threats an Oct. 31 general strike after a meeting with Bennett last week failed to bring about any hint of reconciliation.

Controversial Despite the all-out, head-to-head confrontations, Bennett, 51-year-old son of former premier W.A.C. Bennett and a successful businessman from the interior of British Columbia who is proud of his small-town virtues, was determined to pursue his goal. There would be no more "government by Chaperne," he repeatedly told British Columbians (page 58). His government will be "lean, not mean," the premier declared. As he told a luncheon for the Employees' Council of British Columbia last week—in one of his rare public speeches since he introduced his controversial budget on July 7—it was time to apply a new philosophy to government services and new "We are cutting far deeper the same way as they are in the private sector,"



he said. "We will bring the same factors to bear. No one should be guaranteed a job for life."

Bennett's attempts to get the public sector on the same footing as the private sector are spelled out in three bills now before the legislature which, according to the British Columbia Government Employees' Union (BCGEU), will completely upend

the rules of bargaining. Bill 2, the Public Service Restructuring Act, will unilaterally remove job security from civil servants. Bill 3, the Public Service Labor Relations Amendment Act, will strip the unions of the right to negotiate a variety of issues, including work scheduling. It will also remove the responsibility of government to negotiate "the effect of layoffs." Bill 12, the Compensation Stabilization Amendment Act, will limit any wage increase to five per cent and pave the way for a possible five-per-cent cut in pay.

Apart from the legislation, the threatened 1,600 firings will almost certainly touch off strike activity throughout the trade union movement.

Already, the 40,000-member BCGEU, which will be without a contract after Oct. 31—has promised it will strike. Last week in an effort to show the seriousness of his cause, the BCGEU began taking a series of strike votes. B.C. teachers and ferry workers also promised to take strike votes soon. Said Cliff Andrist, the chief BCGEU bargainer: "Our brothers and sisters are out there and we'll be joining them soon."

Adding to the volatility of the labor situation is the increasingly uneasy state of the forestry industry which accounts for almost 50 cents of every dollar earned in British Columbia. The three main forestry unions are negotiating a new contract, but those talks are jeopardized because of a recent strike by 500 loggers in the Nanaimo Valley as northern Vancouver Island, who walked off the job over a dispute involving the contracting of non-union workers. Industry spokesmen then threatened a province-wide lockout if they did not return. They did, but it is that kind of unrest that

Time is running out and feelings are running very high. Despite the string talk from the unions, Bennett has shown no sign of tempering his tough legislative. For him, it is the only way that the province can recover from the recession. Historically, British Columbia—with its almost wholly resource-based economy—is usually the last province out, and the last one out of, recession. This year, the government will be saddled with a \$1.6-billion deficit after increasing government spending by 33.3 per cent. With almost two-thirds of the B.C. economy dependent on exports, the future is uncertain. The forestry industry is still reeling after a year of record losses and Bennett's \$1.5-billion northeast coal megaproject is running into problems in its initial development. Although the first installment of coal will be moving out of the Quetzal Mine early next month, forecasts are gloomy for the short-term export market. According to the B.C. coal industry, producers will have to face cutbacks in the price and quantity of their contracts, while desperately trying to hold on to their market share. Unemployment is also high: 33 per cent in the forestry industry; 26 per cent in the resource industries, and close to 29 per cent in the service and manufacturing industries. In many ways, Bennett is trying to reverse the economy in time also for the 1986 Expo transportation for that Vancouver will host. He also hopes that the fair will be a boon to the economy. Said Bennett: "The hosting of Expo 86 will provide billions of tourist dollars and technology and industry for us and the world."

Empty-handed Last week, Bennett made one major concession to those opposed to his plan when he agreed to meet with Kube, and his Solidarity Coalition co-chairman Dennis Shearer, a former member of the B.C. House of Commons, and Rex James Roberts, a Catholic priest and religious studies professor, to discuss the unions' concerns. For the coalition, the meeting was a calculated gamble. Since the budget restraint package was brought down last July, the coalition and its leaders dealt with each other primarily through the media. The coalition had demanded a meeting with the premier for months as the precondition that Bennett withdraw his controversial program. But that was totally unacceptable to the premier. And when the two sides finally came together for 80 minutes in Bennett's legislature office, there were no preconditions. Bennett also turned down a request by the coalition to suspend the legislature during the talks "as a sign of good faith." In the end, when Kube and the other coalition leaders walked out, they left empty-handed. Later it became





Neepawa Valley logging site abandoned by strikers: a general strike locus.

COVER

clear that Bennett had explicitly unsummoned the group. Following the meeting, Kube announced that the coalition would meet with Bennett once again this week. But Bennett said that he was not aware of any subcommittee meeting, adding that he planned to visit Toronto for much of the week.

One of the few prospects to come out of the meeting was Bennett's suggestion to the coalition leaders that they meet with various cabinet ministers to discuss the finer points of the legislation which they disagree with. But Kube said that discussion of bills is very narrow terms was not what the coalition wanted; and that Bennett's "one-on-one" suggestions to meet with cabinet ministers were simply an attempt "to divide and conquer" the coalition. Said Kube: "Because there are fairly divergent groups in the coalition, the government could start an atmosphere of distrust. We are going to stick together." Added Shearer: "I cannot say I am personally overjoyed at the outcome." For his part, Bennett quickly returned to a tough stance when he accused the coalition of posturing by its refusal to accept his offer to meet with cabinet ministers. Said Bennett: "I am sorry they have not chosen to respond to that offer. The ball is in their court."

Despite Bennett's skill in handling the Solidarity Coalition, he cannot upturn the wide and deepening range of

protest from British Columbians who are frightened by his radical vision. The Solidarity Coalition was formed more than two months ago as a response to Bennett's legislative plans. Its members grew steadily as the labor movement, diverse groups and the religious community joined in the protest. Its strength is in its numbers. Solidarity rallies in Victoria and Vancouver drew unprecedented crowds of 40,000 alien-

Leader Kube: 'We're winning out'



and British Columbians. But for all the speech-making, petition-signing and threats against the government on open-law radio shows, Solidarity has been unable to make the B.C. government retreat from their position or even rethink it. Under the strain of failed expectations, the coalition is showing signs of crumbling from within. Already various factions have accused it of being too moderate. And although a recent show at Bennett's Vancouver office by a group of militant labor and community activists was not sanctioned and Kube simply described the event as being "out of step" with the mainstream, he refused to condemn it because he feared he would undermine the coalition's unity. Others within the alliance have even begun questioning their political

ally, the NDP, for its strategy of fighting legislation in the House. According to Michael Krummel, a solidarity spokesman and secretary of the B.C. Federation of Labor, the NDP's message that it will fight only the "dirty dozen" out of a total of 36 bills is unacceptable to the coalition as a whole. Said Krummel: "It will cut at too well inside the coalition. I would like to see them be strong on all the bills and stimulate all the legislation." So far, the NDP has been unsuccessful in its attempts to derail even those bills. For the past three weeks, the B.C. legislature has been the scene of bitter outraged discourse. Using the unusual tactic of closure and round-the-clock sit-ins—a tactic called "legislation by subcommittee" during the reign of former premier W.A.C. Bennett—the 36 Soerod members have effectively stalled the dissenting voices of the 22 NDP members. For their part, the New Democrats have tried to stall the passage of legislation by filibuster and by tying up the legislature in procedural arguments.

Despite the NDP maneuvering, the government appears intent on pushing through its legislation as quickly as possible. A memo released by the NDP and written by Science Minister Dr. Patrick McGee to the opposition last week made it clear that the government's objective was to conclude the present sitting by Oct. 29—which would mean passing at least one bill and one set of minister's estimates each day. NDP

House Leader Frank Howard charged that the privileges of MPAs were being "sacrificed because of the government's 'secret master plan'."

When the government moved to all-night sessions on Sept. 19 to get its program through, both sides prepared for the new way of doing business. Bennett showed up at the legislature with a suitcase of freshly packed clothes. NDP MLA Barbara Wallace camped in her van, parked in a lot in the back of the legislature. And other NDP members in sleeping bags, earplugs and blankets. One Soerod cabinet minister brought his teddy bear into the house. Forestries Minister Thomas Waterland brought his Sony Walkman and Speaker Walter Davidson built a device which put an earpiece in his ear which were shining into his office and disturbing his sleep. All-night polar games have become a favorite activity in stonier rooms off the chamber. During one week the legislature sat for a record 58 hours.

Climax. The pace is hardest on the government side. It must be able to field a team of 33 MLAs to vote the New Democrats have all 22 members in the House, which would be enough to defeat the government. In a week-and-a-half drive, the NDP has divided its members into three teams, each working eight-hour shifts. At the opening of the all-night sessions, the NDP had better odds than any other team. "A", "B" and "C" teams. Not to be outdone, the Soerods got better of their own marked "The Winning Team."

But as week ended, tempers began to wear thin last week. On Tuesday, during a 13th-hour session, the government invoked closure on unprecedented four times in order to curb two clause-by-clause debates of two contentious bills, one of which would wipe out regional land-use plans. The growing NDP outrage over the inability to stop the Bennett government's timetable in the early morning hours last Thursday when Bennett was belatedly forced from the chamber and banished by the Speaker of the House for the rest of the session. It was the second time in a month that Bennett had been ejected. Last week the mandate began innocently when Barrett challenged a ruling by sitting Speaker John Parks—a ruling which charged a ruling in one of the many tactics the NDP has used to delay passage or to force the raising of the divorce bills and raise taxation.

The Speaker disallowed Barrett's challenge and, after being rebuffed by the opposition leader, he asked him to leave for the remainder of the day's sitting. Barrett refused, telling the Speaker: "I have a right to challenge rules and I'm not leaving. If I give up that right I give up everything that this place stands for."

People have had for this right," Underlined by Barrett's Chairmanship secretary, the Speaker invoked Standing Order 50 of the B.C. legislature—which covers gross disorderly conduct by members—and asked two security guards to forcibly remove Barrett. MLAs watched in stunned silence as blue-jacketed security men dumped Barrett out of his chair and then pulled him on his back across the chamber and out through a revolving door. Said Barrett after during himself off outside the chamber: "It is an absurd abuse of the freedom of the parliamentary democracy."

Technically, Barrett's banishment means that he is not permitted to sit in the public gallery, or even go to his own office at the legislature. As well, he is

disqualified from Bennett's reconstruction may heighten the opposition in its struggle to fight Bennett, but it is clear that at least one disruption will stop passage of the legislation. Bennett, for one, remains convinced that the majority of British Columbians still support him, despite a province-wide poll published by the Vancouver Sun two weeks ago which said that, although a majority of British Columbians support restraint, close to 75 per cent said they disapproved of his heavy-handed methods. Bennett responded to the poll results by saying that rather than change the legislation, the government will simply try to counter it had passed. In his speech to the B.C. Legislature, Bennett made a clear attack on his enemies who



Solidarity rally at Empire Stadium, fighting 'legislation by subcommittee'

Barrett has a \$64,980 pay out by \$250 a day for every day after 30 that he is absent from the legislature. Parliamentary law expert Edward McWhinney quickly came to Barrett's defense. A professor at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, McWhinney said the expulsion was against the legislature's rules and that Barrett's commitments could result in the courts for a declaration that the Speaker was wrong in depriving them of representation. But, by week's end, Soerod MLAs were saying proudly that they might pass a motion to have Barrett reinstated quickly, in order to cool any public sympathy that he might gain. Said one cabinet minister: "We don't want to make this guy a martyr."

have "deliberately misinterpreted" him.

In many ways Bennett is in Canada what Margaret Thatcher is to Britain: a political crusader taking his province on an unrelenting course. For the time being, Bennett himself remains the most certain that his radical retooling of British Columbia is necessary and will ultimately be accepted by the public. And shows all one thing is clear: other provincial governments will be anxiously awaiting the outcome. Said Ontario Premier Frank Miller: "I am watching with trepidation. If Bennett succeeds every government will be trying the same thing in its own way. If he fails, the cause of government restraint will be set back a decade." ☐

'There is no easy way to lay off people'

Five governments of any stripe operating in any jurisdiction have around a much stronger in Premier William Bennett's Social Credit administration in British Columbia. His determination to drastically reduce public spending, for a quarter of the province's civil servants and to do away with most of British Columbia's social agencies has created such bitter controversy that union leaders are threatening a general strike for Oct. 31. In an exclusive interview with Maclean's, Bennett's Senior Contributing Editor Peter G. Newman, the premier explained his radical approach to government.

Maclean's: Why, apparently without warning, did you decide to try to bring about a new kind of society in British Columbia?

Bennett: The international recession caused the change. It struck the industrialized world, this country and British Columbia very hard. With our economy two-thirds export oriented we had to make some very hard decisions. Not only has our economy dropped but the growth rate we experienced in the 1980s and 1970s is not projected for the 1990s or the 1980s. So we have to make very priority decisions now.

Maclean's: Must Canadians be now aware that the recession also led to a collapse in government revenues?

Bennett: Especially resource revenues, which dropped from a high of about \$1.6 billion in 1980 to \$576 million last year, reducing our total revenues in real terms. That has not happened in any other province—ever.

Maclean's: There have been two main reactions to your program—opposition from special interest groups objecting to specific cuts and new Social Credit supporters who say your methods. Is it possible to make drastic cuts gently?

Bennett: There is a catch here. There is no easy way to lay off people, especially good people.

Maclean's: You cannot fire them a discharge.

Bennett: It is not a discharge. Most of the restraints we introduced on were started last year. The Compensation Stabilization Act, which puts limits on conditions on bargaining in the public sector has been in force for over a year—that's part of the program we are refusing to do. Dismantling of government, which started last year, involves 25 per cent or 11,000 people, but we are half way there through a freeze on hiring and natural attrition. We need the tools and the conditions and the language that you find in the private sector collective agreements.

Maclean's: Despite that and other cuts, your expenditures for this year are up by 12 per cent. What would that increase have been without the restraints?

Bennett: We're paying \$180 million in interest on last year's debt. That is how much the reduced deficits we are achieving through some of our tough actions, which will make a \$5-billion to \$6-billion difference by 1988/89. That, in turn, will reduce the difference between carrying interest charges on over \$1 billion and having less than half of that.

Maclean's: You're still projecting a \$1.6 billion deficit this year and another \$1.6 billion next year. How can you articulate any specific goal, such as next year's budget being smaller?

Bennett: If you set up arbitrary goals you sometimes get caught. We are doing into the budgetary process for next year now in which every ministry will be evaluating its presence, getting up those which are desirable, but not affordable, for cabinet discussion. The other problem is that this country is

fast becoming an undesirable place to do business because of the multiplication of tax levels that will be needed to repay any national and provincial debts.

Maclean's: How much of your fiscal restraint program has to do with money and how much is it an attempt to re-make society—I think of steps like doing away with the Human Rights Commission, for one.

Bennett: When we got into the international recession, it seemed like a good time to re-examine what governments should be doing. In that examination we found that, although desirable and well motivated at the time, there had grown up in our society and in our province a sort of belief that agencies not directly

consequential and moved so slowly that in many cases justice was delayed. So we are replacing the Human Rights Commission with a Human Rights Council. Legislation we have introduced actually broadens the definition of human rights to include the disabled for the first time.

Maclean's: You're most surely be the first government in Canadian history that reversed its mandate by procuring less.

Bennett: We've done a complete mandate from the people by saying we will make your affairs well, we will not waste your money, we will spend less to protect essential services, so that you will not lose control of the amount of disposable income you need. The cost of government in 1980 was 20 per cent of GNP.

complicated and moved so slowly that in many cases justice was delayed. So we are replacing the Human Rights Commission with a Human Rights Council. Legislation we have introduced actually broadens the definition of human rights to include the disabled for the first time.

Maclean's: What about some of the other areas of government intervention? For example, is probably one of the least desirable laws introduced by government. What it does is put on a nearly lauded as a taxpayer—that could be anyone, whether he is a farmer who sold his farm or someone who has sold his small business and put their savings in a rental accommodation to become landlords. They somehow become owners of social control. There are created all sorts of social problems, development abandonment in the major cities and lack of housing construction. If society wants to help people in their accommodation because of costs, they should deal directly with individual cases. That is my philosophy in removing rent control.

Maclean's: In your own case do you consider your election platform to have been your mandate?

Bennett: Yes. Of the three elections I have fought, this was the campaign in which the issues were most clearly understood, where the choices were most clearly marked. It was the best vote we ever got, our strongest mandate. It has to mean something when we go to the polls in our worst economic year and win. And I did not have the luxury of getting in, like in other provinces, where the opposition was Liberal, by running against Trudeau.

Maclean's: Conversely or not, you are establishing not just a stronger government but a whole new society in Canada's Pacific coast. Have you thought through the full implications of your program?

Bennett: The only jobs that can drive our prosperity are jobs in the private sector. To create them, we have to do everything we can to encourage business investment and broaden our international markets. And that is the program people clearly supported in the election. No government can spend its way to prosperity. You cannot have one group of people working in the public sector immune from the recession—governments must have the ability to lay off people on the same terms and conditions as the private sector.

Maclean's: But the people who may be supporting you are fairly silent, while your opposition is mobilizing the promise into a general strike. Do you enjoy being called a fascist?

Bennett: I've been around politics all my life, and it's 10 years since I was first elected. You cannot sail me a fascist when in fact I have tried to reduce government intervention. Fascism is totally foreign to my philosophy, is everything I believe in. Despite the skillfulness of the opposition, I have never felt more positive or more up to the task than I do on the street, quietly put their hand on my shoulder, and say "Stick with it."



Bennett, 'downsizing'



Lumber mill at Campbell River: you cannot cut me a fascist when in fact I have tried to reduce government intervention?

responsible to the government and therefore to the people were sometimes more than government departments. The fact that they were given powers without having any checks and balances, to me and to my colleagues this seemed to be not democratic. One area of concern is human rights. Our Human Rights Commission was under a lot of attack. Rather than [being] an area to which people could take legitimate complaints and have them heard quickly and receptively, [the commission] pursued frivolous

Today it is over 30 per cent. That is unacceptable, I believe, to most people. The fact that it is over 30 per cent means that the present economy cannot afford it and government, unable to raise the taxes for some years now, has been using a Charges card approach. It has been government by Charges in Ottawa and they've doubled the national debt in the past few years.

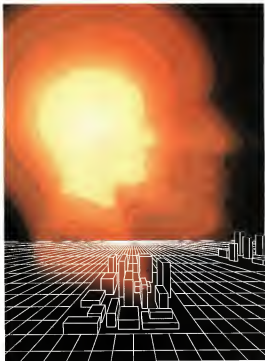
Maclean's: In a philosophical sense, what do you see as the real purpose of a government is modern society?

Bennett: The government of course has

our view is in the maintenance of Canadian opinion. It is acceptable for the more informed political parties to go and say, "Here is the financial position of our country. Unchecked that is what you will face two, three, four years down the road—you will face much less."

Maclean's: What about some of the other areas of government intervention? Are you considering deregulation similar to some of the Reagan initiatives?

Bennett: That is something we started a number of years ago. We are reassess-



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ROYAL BANK



On track at Marshall, Sask., in the 1930s students learned that the subsidy would last 'forever'; now it will end

CANADA

Last stand for the Crow

By Carol Goss

From the age of about 10, when they begin to help their fathers take the grain to the elevator, Saskatchewan children learn all about "the Crow." As they listen to the wheat farmers playing cribbage at the elevator, they gradually discover the historic antipathy between farmers and railways as they both struggled to settle the West. They find out that Westerners were their only real enemy since the railways 86 years ago when Sir Wilfrid Laurier made an historic deal with the Canadian Pacific Railway. Laurier promised CPR the money it needed to build a transcontinental line if, in turn, it promised to carry grain wheat from western farmers to the sea or lake ports at the same low rate—farmers. As a result, when the federal Liberals announced last year that they would seek to abolish Laurier's famous "Crow Rate," Westerners saw it not just as an attack on their livelihood but as a dramatic human issue as well.

But human drama is decidedly missing from the Crow Rate debate that now grips Parliament. As Bill C-165 raising the transportation costs for western farmers moved into its final stages last week, the debate had become little more than a succession of procedural waxes and waxes-muffled speeches. Many Liberals view the debate as the last bat-

tle in the longest-running Parliament in Canadian history. For their parts the Conservatives and New Democrats consider the issue to be the death knell of the Liberals in Western Canada. By week's end, the only drama in the issue was the prospect that the two opposition parties might resort to boycotting the House to prevent passage of the bill. Conservative transport critic Donald Manonowski, for one, was saddened by the tone of the debate. "We have forgotten that it isn't just a freight rate bill; it is an issue that goes to the very heart of this nation's social and economic fabric."

Alicia Hamilton, a history teacher before he joined the Tory government as John Diefenbaker's, and two mayoral candidates and inquiries in riding the Crow have dropped the issue of its emotional impact. Manonowski said economic issues seem to have muted the debate away from farmers and politicians. And Leonard Gustafson, a farmer-turned-Conservative MP from the southern Saskatchewan riding of Assiniboia, said the issue may simply be too complex and troublesome for customers to give it serious consideration. "When you grow up on the Prairies, you learn about the Crow by osmosis," he said. "But when I come back, I was surprised at how many inquiries in Parliament could not figure it out."

Indeed, the debate has shifted focus

so often, since it began in August 1986, that a parliamentarian virtually needs a billboard to keep track of who stands where. More than 200 interest groups, ranging from the British Columbia Roadbuilders to the Lutheran Church, have offered the government their views. The federal government has revised its position several times. And the Conservatives disagreed among themselves for most of the debate. Until their new leader, Brian Mulroney, insisted last month on a united stand. Meanwhile, the provincial governments of Saskatchewan and Alberta are at odds on the issue and farmers disagree with each other.

Despite the diversity of views the basic issue at stake was fairly simple: The government insists that the Crow is a costly relic of a past era. The New Democrats argue that the Crow agreement is an inalienable bargain between the federal government and western farmers. And the Conservatives concede that the Crow probably needs to be changed, but want to delay the decision for three years. All the participants in the debate agree that there will never be an ideal solution to the Crow dilemma. When former transport minister Jean-Luc Pepin launched his crusade to change the Crow in early 1985, he made it clear that he was only seeking the best possible compromise—not the perfect solution. He admitted that the gov-



Manonowski, not just a freight bill

ernment's plan was "a second best." That plan, which is likely to dominate Parliament's schedule for the next few weeks, is an attempt to eradicate 86 years of low subsidy freight rates once and for all for Ontario and the railways. The minister now responsible for getting it through Parliament is Lloyd Axworthy, who has been in the transport portfolio less than two months. Unlike Pepin, Axworthy is a westerner—the only elected one in Trudeau's cabinet. And unlike his predecessor, he seems to relish his task. "This bill means new jobs in every part of Canada, new trade opportunities and an expanded base of economic growth," declared Axworthy. "It offers hope for Canadians...it helps livestock producers in Manitoba, coal miners in British Columbia or railway workers in Quebec."

The bill contains three basic elements:
 • Freight rates paid by farmers would double by 1995 and increase five-fold by 1997. As a result, farmers would pay 60 per cent of the actual cost of getting their grain to market as opposed to the current 25 per cent.
 • The federal government would pay an annual subsidy of \$602 million to Canadian Pacific Ltd and Canadian National Railways for the next 10 years to allow them to undertake a massive modernization of the western rail system, including double-tracking through the Rockies.
 • The federal government would guarantee farmers that transportation charges will never be allowed to exceed 10 per cent of the world price of grain.

The obvious beneficiaries of the legislation are Canada's railways. They insist that the plan represents "no big bonanza," but surely the nonwestern

farmers of a historical injustice. As Frederick Ravilofsky, chairman and chief executive officer of Canadian Pacific Ltd, told an all-party committee studying the legislation last summer, "The present bill is a response to reality. But it will produce a rate that will be found to be very much on the low side when compared to a truly compensatory range of rates."

That statement ignored the Conservatives. "This is clearly a sweetheart deal for the railways," said Manonowski. The Tories complain that the Liberals have accepted as truth a number of questionable assumptions made by the railways. They are convinced that the carriers have built overly generous profit conclusions into their cost estimates. As well, they want better guarantees from the rail companies that they will actually make a full govt and improvements in their customer network. "I think we should have some over-

see of the railways performance in return," Manonowski said. For his part, the government argues that the debate has already dragged on for hundreds of hours and that, once running short, Axworthy said that if the railways do not save the money they need, their network will become so overloaded and out-of-repair that farmers will face difficulty getting their grain to port. Still, the rail companies' own statements raise doubts about the accuracy of the situation. "I am not aware of any complaints anywhere in the system at the moment," Ronald Lawless, president of Canadian National's rail division, told a parliamentary committee studying the bill. "However," he added, "when the economy returns to normal levels, I am sure there will be the means of increasing our capacity in Western Canada, we probably would have difficulty in moving all the

message that is available to us, including grain."

Almost lost in all the political rhetoric of the past few weeks is the fact that a fascinating chapter of Canadian history is about to end. Laurier's bargain with the railways in 1897 was one of the blocks on which the nation was built. The CPR line led to the settlement of the West and the birth of western Canada's flourishing agricultural economy. It was a bargain that served four generations of Western farmers well. In fact, it became such a pillar of Prairie life that abolitionists in the 1990s accused their young pupils to renege, an accusation "The Crow Rate is sufficient-percentage FOREIGNER." The industry they sang out the word "foreigner," the more their teachers applauded.

The House of Commons will finally put the Crow to rest formally, by the end of the month with a minimum of emotion and drama. But its rest (farmed) country took place in August last August. A succession of sons arrived in the provincial capital to hear one last statement on the issue by the province's farmers. As the hearing began, three tractors circled the hall where the meeting was taking place. Dozens of farmers in tractor caps wearing T-shirts that read "Keep the Crow," gathered for the event. And Wayne Easter, president of the National Farmers' Union, applied the epitaph for the Crow. "The tribute of steel eternally enshrined as a means of binding this country together has now been transformed into an instrument of alienation," he told his audience. It was an eloquent—if angry—goodbye from Canada's unhappy western farmers. □

Axworthy and Hamilton (below), jobs off or on a deal for the railways





Trudeau in the Commons last week: conciliatory language that still could inflame

Unity on French for Manitoba

The gift was painstakingly crafted and carefully packaged—but nobody wanted it. Still, as one in Ottawa was eager to point out that fast to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, Opposition Leader Brian Mulroney and New Democratic Party Leader Ed Broadbent last week when they finally agreed on an all-party resolution supporting the extension of French-language services in Manitoba. NDP Premier Howard Pawley was given Ottawa's help in his efforts to make the province officially bilingual, whether he wanted it or not. The premier, who made it clear last month that he preferred to seek a "made in Manitoba" solution, greeted the parliamentary resolution with polite resignation. And his cabinet issued a short statement calling the federal action "useful."

The all-party resolution is a masterpiece of conciliatory language, but it still runs the risk of inflaming the already tense situation in Manitoba. Since May, when Pawley's government announced its plan to entrench the increased use of French in Manitoba in the nation's Constitution, the province has become deeply divided. A large segment of the population, supported in the legislature by the 20 Conservative MPPs, adamantly opposes the government's proposal. The issue will not come to a vote until the provincial legislature resumes sitting sometime before the end of the year. But the dispute already has reared the prospect of a bitter French-English showdown. And last week's federal resolution appears to have intensi-

fied the conflict. Declared Manitoba Conservative Leader Sterling Lyon, "Entrenchment (of francophone rights) is dividing the province as it has never been divided before."

It took three weeks of delicate negotiations and careful drafting to come up with a resolution that all three federal leaders could accept. They finally agreed to "invite" the Manitoba government to "act as expeditiously as possible" to extend the range of French-language services which it provides. That skilful wording allowed Trudeau to carry on his crusade for expanded bilingualism, while still respecting Pawley's right to speak for Manitoba. It permitted Mulroney to endorse the principle of bilingualism, while avoiding an outright collision with his party's unhappy Manitoba wing. And it offered Broadbent a chance to vint his support for Canada's second language without committing his provincial tag colleagues to any specific course of action.

All three leaders strove to praise the all-party accord with inspirational phrases. Having the beginning of "a new period of understanding" among Canadians, Trudeau reminded the country "it is fundamental to our existence as a people and indeed to our survival as a nation that we see, no matter how small the minority, that if it has rights, those rights will be protected." Added Mulroney, "Bilingualism is a valued principle and an indispensable dimension of our national life." Concluding the debate, Broadbent declared: "We

are supporting a spirit of tolerance and a respect for diversity which will always be the hallmarks of Canada and Canadians."

But behind their glowing oratory there was a fascinating interplay of less noble political calculations. For Mulroney, the resolution represented a huge relief. While the Prime Minister first suggested the accord, during the Conservative leader's second day in Parliament, Mulroney found himself in an increasingly uncomfortable position. It appeared that he would have to choose between two untenable options—that of supporting the resolution and alienating Manitoba Conservatives or rejecting it and turning his back on Quebec. Last week's far-week spared Mulroney the anguish of that choice. Although the resolution

ultimately satisfied Quebec nationalists, as planned, Manitoba Tories, both groups were prepared to live with it. Even Lyon pointed out that Mulroney's position was hardly the first time the federal and provincial wings of a party had disagreed.

Mulroney was also spared the embarrassment of a public split within his own caucus in Ottawa when Parliament agreed not to put the resolution to a vote. That meant that any dissent could remain submerged. Several of Mulroney's right-wing men strongly opposed the resolution, but they remained silent while the leader told the House: "We would before you united."

Trudeau emerged a winner, too. When he originally broached the possibility of an all-party resolution in Sept. 12, critics accused him of capitulating to linguistic separatism. Mulroney's support for Canada's second language without committing his provincial tag colleagues to any specific course of action.

The resolution is not binding on the Manitoba government. But it does promise to lighten pressure in the troubled province. And it is certain to focus the nation's interest, once more, on a provincial government that hopes to work out its problems quietly.

—CAROL GORDON in Ottawa

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Medicare pinch in Alberta

Seven years ago Larry Nadess's two-year-old son suffered extensive burns when he scaldingly turned on the kitchen stove. After four months in hospital and three operations for plastic surgery, the boy recovered completely. Mothers covered most of the medical and hospital costs of the ordeal—for which Nadess was very grateful. But the Calgary musician was shocked when he learned through a television newscast last week that his

Alberta health care insurance benefits had been cut because his family's premiums were in arrears. The Nadesses had fallen behind in their payments because of financial difficulties. Nadess sold his used car and he was able to pay the \$100 he owed. Now, he says, he agrees with the Alberta government decision to crack down on people like him. "It gets everybody off their backs," he said.

Still, not all of the estimated 200,000 people affected accepted the province's decision to cancel health care benefits for anyone more than three months late in their payments. The action was the latest escalation in an intense medicine dispute between Alberta and the federal government. Describing the cutoff as "cruel," federal Health Minister Monique Bégin said Ottawa will monitor the situation closely to ensure that Alberta does not erode the universality of the health care system. And federal MP Louie Blais (Bridlewood) called the Alberta campaign a "vicious, inhuman activity." He also urged the federal government to bring in tough new legislation to secure adequate funding for health care and to penalize provinces for violating the principles of universality. Close to home, the Edmonton-based Friends of the Seniors and the Friends of the Elderly moved to "assist." Said Friends co-ordinator Nancy Kotani, "It is proof that the whole premium system is more trouble than it's worth."

For his part, Alberta Hospital's Minister Don Russell replied that his new policy is "fair." Russell said that there would be no confrontation with Ottawa if Bégin honored the Constitution which says that health care is the province's responsibility. "She is trying to meddle in with her program of social medicine,"

Russell said. "I don't have a problem. She does. She's a socialist. I am not."

The battle between the provinces and the federal government over Medicare has been a long one—with an obvious end in sight. Right intends to introduce new health care legislation aimed at halting the "erosion" of Medicare in Canada as soon as a new parliamentary session begins. More than two years ago she threatened to cut off \$76 million in federal funds to Alberta unless the

provinces agreed to permit hospital boards to draw up their budgets. But critics said that political pressure, not only from constituents but also from the federal Tory party, which has still not taken a position on the issue, won the real reason.

Last July, Russell went even further when he announced his decision to cut health insurance benefits to 200,000 people in Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario as the only provinces that charge premiums. The remaining premiums collect income from general tax revenues. Even with the crackdown Alberta expects to collect only about half of the \$46 million in unpaid premiums which have accumulated since 1970. During the 1970s, Russell said, the province could afford to be lenient. But not any longer. "If there is a bill attached to health care insurance, somebody has to pay for it and it is fair to make all those pay who are eligible for services," he said. "It's tough times for the government, too, and we need the premium revenue."

There is no indication how many of the 200,000 delinquents are victims of the recession. The Friends of Medicare estimate that about two-thirds of all those registered in the health care system pay through their employer. The remaining group, says Kotani, are self-employed and members of the working poor. Under the policy, single people with a taxable income of less than \$3,500 or families with taxable income of less than \$6,000 are eligible for provincial subsidies and do not have to pay the premium. Luckily because of the province's increased economy, the number of people receiving subsidies has declined since last year to 50,000. Other groups with taxable incomes of less than \$4,500 and less than \$1,500 respectively receive a partial reduction.

Ultimately, the Medicare debate is the result of two different approaches to health care. Some groups contend that consumers must bear some responsibility for health care costs. Others are concerned about the creation of a two-tiered health care system, one for the rich and one for the poor. Supporting that view, Kotani said, "I do not think it is fair for an individual to rely on charity to get health care. Health care is a right, not a privilege." Her view is shared by a decreasing number of provinces.



Bégin and Russell in calmer days: 'She is trying to meddle in.'

provinces stopped charging health care premiums and per capita extra billing by doctors. Russell's position was clear from the start. "The administration of health care plans are none of her business. She should not even be commenting on those things." The battle heated up when Russell announced earlier this year that hospitals could begin reducing user fees from patients. And again, Bégin was incensed. Although the user fees were scheduled to go into effect on Oct. 1, Russell delayed their implementation until Jan. 1, 1984. Rus-



The boats of Digby, Bedford (below): Signs of diversification and unfair competition

The largest fish company

The creation of the world's largest fishing company in Nova Scotia, backed by federal and provincial government financing, has provoked sharp reactions among independent fish companies ranging from outright hostility to guarded welcome. The final details of the deal which involves merging two ailing fish companies will not be revealed for up to three weeks, but the spectre of a huge government financial stake in the province's fishing industry has raised fears of favoritism and unfair competition. "My business is 90 years old, started by my grandfather," said Donald Cousens, owner of the French River Cannery Ltd. near New London, P.E.I. "It's a family business and I won't have to keep it that way. But this new company is getting government funding and the government is going to come out and use it against us, while we have just got our own money to work with. That is what we are very much against."

The federal government's initiatives in Nova Scotia are part of a comprehensive restructuring of the beleaguered East Coast fishing industry. In September Ottawa first reached an agreement with the Newfoundland government which involved the amalgamation of its fishing companies and the injection of \$75 million in federal funds in the industry. One week later the federal and provincial governments restructured the offshore fishing sector in Nova Scotia by amalgamating debt-ridden H.R. Nickerson and Sons Ltd. with National Sea Products Ltd. The two governments

will take equity in the new company—called National Sea Products—until their shares can be sold back to private business. If the governments had not acted, the flock of Nova Scotia would have been in a position to take over Nickerson assets to cover its debt, rumored to be around \$180 million.

The provincial government will likely take a \$25-million equity position in the new company, and the federal government's contribution will be several million dollars more. Provincial Fisheries Minister Kenneth Stewart said he sympathizes with critics such as Cousens, but he insists that no favoritism will be shown to the new firm. "They concern us very little," said Stewart. "I expressed some of the same concerns when I read of the Newfoundland agreement."

Many of Nova Scotia's 300 independent fish plant owners are willing to give the new company a chance to get established before deciding whether it has unfair advantages. "I think it's simply too early to tell," said Robert Roberts, whose family-owned Stambro Fisheries near Halifax has been in operation for

six years. "I'm pretty sure the governments will keep in mind the small operators." Despite these displays of good-will, the Atlantic fishery remains a uniquely fractious industry. Small operators have bitterly resented past federal infusions of money to other troubled sectors of the industry, such as the smaller companies, driving them out of business "bad suits."

It was to avoid such accusations that the two governments ruled out loans, guarantees or outright grants to the Nova Scotia firms and took equity instead, instead. But even that level of government involvement raised fears in some circles. "It's true that we still do not know how much the federal government will invest, or what their influence, in numbers, will be," said Allan Richard, executive director of the Eastern Fishermen's Federation, which represents offshore fishermen. "But as far as I am concerned, any government influence through seats on a board of directors is too much. The small people, the independent people are going to be hurt by the government becoming a player with that immediate financial backing that they have. It's a case of the referee picking up a hockey stick."

A rumor that the two giant Nova Scotia firms would merge has been current for years. Then, in 1977, Nickerson incorporated the Nova Scotia business completely by buying 54.6 per cent of the much larger National Sea Products and intensified the speculation. But a reverse takeover process began when Stambro, backed by debt-financed at roughly \$135 million, turned over its sales and marketing operations to National Sea last year.

For its part, while it has earned money in recent years, National Sea reported second-quarter losses of \$1.9 million in 1983. Last August, when fish prices plummeted, it threw five plants, tied up 2,000 people and had off 2,000 people to avoid further losses. By stepping in, the governments helped the Nova Scotia fishing giant avoid an even harsher fate because Cousens and other independent businessmen would not likely have attempted any takeover operation. As one P.E.I. fisherman put it: "Those people who want bankruptcy, they should be let go right into the industry, so that they survive out the way they know how."



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B-52 strategic bomber; and (below) Rowley with Karpov: If the Soviets are serious, here is something they can work with

WORLD

A crucial stage in START

By Michael Posner

With the customary Rose Garden fanfare, President Ronald Reagan last week walked "good back and Godspeed" in retired General Ed Rowley, the chief U.S. negotiator at the Geneva strategic arms talks (START). But the American delegation last week returned to the negotiating table with more than good wishes. Attempting to ease the public relations offensive, the Reagan administration offered the Soviet Union a modified strategic arms proposal embracing the "build-down" concept of nuclear armaments. Under it, both sides would agree to destroy one or more older warheads or missiles for every new system introduced. And, in concrete reductions in the level of superpower arms, Washington suggested an annual five-per-cent cut in deployments when no new weapons are built.

The Soviet news agency TASS quickly denounced the proposals as "empty words meant to disguise Washington's intention to achieve military-strategic superiority." But the new proposal was clearly popular on Capitol Hill. Democrats and Republicans alike hailed the initiative as a serious effort to break the negotiating deadlock at Geneva. Lawmakers were especially pleased that

Reagan had honored his pledge to include the build-down formula in the official U.S. position. The president had earlier promised to do so, in return for congressional support for the MX missile, the Pentagon's new intercontinental ballistic system.

With new bipartisan accord, the in-



itiative also welcomed the appointment of a Democrat, James Woolsey, to the Geneva negotiating team. Woolsey, who was former president Jimmy Carter's under-secretary of the navy, and has been a foreign policy adviser to presidential candidate John Glenn, will keep close tabs on Rowley, whose commitment to arms control is treated skeptically by Democratic congressmen.

If there is a single dominating theme to Washington's new offer, it is flexibility. While administration officials spelled out the details in background briefings, the president said publicly—for the first time—that he would negotiate limits on U.S. bombers and air-launched cruise missiles if Moscow cut back on its land-based systems. That concession directly addressed earlier Soviet criticism, reported last week by Soviet chief negotiator Viktor Karpov on his arrival in Geneva before Reagan's announcement, that the United States was trying to destroy the Soviet land-based arsenal while retaining its air- and sea-based missiles. Said Reagan: "There will have to be trade-offs, and the United States is prepared to make those, as long as they result in a more stable balance of forces."

Under the START umbrella, a new U.S.-Soviet working group will examine the build-down proposal. For land-

based missiles, like the SS and Moscow's SS-16, Washington said that two older warheads should be destroyed for every new one deployed. Sea-launched and mobile missiles would be demonstrated under different ratios—three-to-two for submarine warheads and one-to-one for the still undeveloped Polaris-class systems. In essence, arms control officials are trying to write a script for the future that favors deployment of smaller, less costly hitting weapons.

Washington will continue to press at Geneva for a limit of 5,000 warheads overall for both sides—a reduction of about a third from current levels. However, the president has told Rowley to abandon attempts to limit Moscow to 2,500 land-based warheads. The United States is now prepared to let the Soviets keep more of its land-based arsenal intact. It will also consent to reduce cruise missiles carried by strategic bombers from 8,000 to 3,200 and cut back the size of the fleet itself. In return, the United States will ask the Soviets to negotiate new ceilings on "mobile three-weight" category in which the Kremlin now enjoys a three-to-one advantage.

Internally, the Reagan administration itself is deeply divided about the new proposal. Rowley and arms control administrator Kenneth Adelman apparently regard the initiative as a signal of U.S. weakness—concessions forced by domestic political pressures. Other state department advisers counseled delay, at least until the recent bout of U.S.-Soviet name-calling is brought under control. At best, the complexity of the build-down concept will require months of laborious discussions, disappointing those who

had hoped for an early agreement. Still, the president also had sound reasons for proceeding with the new offer. For one thing, it guarantees him support from such key Capitol Hill Democrats as Lee Aspin in the House of Representatives and Sam Nunn in the Senate. If the START negotiations should fail, Reagan will be less vulnerable politically. As well, the bipartisan arms control consensus will make the Pentagon's defense budget more saleable, particularly the MX missile. A quick Soviet rejection of the build-down formula in Geneva risks offending the most moderate arms control voices in

President Reagan: "A more stable balance"



Congress. The proposal may also be important in bolstering America's image abroad. Accompanying West German President Karl Carstens to the White House last week, German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said: "The key to success lies with Moscow. It is now up to the Soviet Union to respond constructively."

In a related development at the United Nations, Soviet representative Gieg Trofimov said a speech on behalf of his host foreign minister, Andrei Gromyko, that called for a bilateral freeze on deployment of nuclear weapons, as well as a testing moratorium. Describing the prevention of the outbreak of nuclear war as "the most urgent task of our time," the Soviets asked the UN General Assembly to pass a resolution urging the various nations to adopt the freeze—"under appropriate verification."

Administration officials did not respond either TASS's commentary or Gromyko's remarks as a formal reply to the build-down proposal. And there was an unmistakably upbeat spirit in Washington—not so much about the specifics of the offer as about its public relations aspect. As Reagan suggested in his farewell to Rowley, relations with the Soviet Union are now on a more "realistic" basis than they have been in the past. Although right-wing Republicans and left-wing Democrats denounced the proposal as unverifiable or inadequate, the president had clearly captured the broad center of the spectrum. Said Aspin: "If the Soviets are serious about arms control, here is something they can work with." At the very least, the U.S.-Soviet dialogue may have entered a new and perhaps decisive stage. □

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U.S. troops in Honduras. Stone (below): 'Real security is a vocal opposition'

CENTRAL AMERICA

Washington's new offensive

For more than a month Lebanon's intense struggle has edged the growing violence in Central America. But last week, as the commission headed by former U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger prepared for its first fact-finding mission in the region, senior administration officials leaked the outline of a vast new military, economic and diplomatic offensive. The chief target is Nicaragua's left-wing Sandinista regime. The objective is to ensure a major foreign policy success. Administration officials believe that in contrast to Lebanon, they have a clearly defined set of goals in Central America. Not only that, despite evidence to the contrary and the increasing absence of allies such as Canada, they feel that events on the ground and support in Congress are turning in their favor.

The military content of the administration's program consists of prolonging the presence in Honduras of 5,000 crack U.S. troops indefinitely after the scheduled end next March of the Big Pine II maneuvers currently under way. The Pentagon has ordered all branches of the armed services to increase their allocations to Southern Command, (Southcom) headquartered in Panama. It has told the navy to add a fourth aircraft carrier to those permanently stationed in foreign waters. "We are putting our best soldiers into Southcom," an official said.

At the same time President Ronald Reagan's Special Envoy to Central America, Richard Stone, is carrying out a new diplomatic offensive aimed at Nicaragua. Stone left on a three-week tour of Western Europe last week to explain the new policies to skeptical allies. On his return he will make it clear to the Sandinistas that the United States will continue to press for politi-

cized expansion in Nicaragua. The significance of that message lies in the administration's interpretation of phorism. A year ago, Washington would have settled for free elections. Now it will require that the Sandinistas sit down with all their opponents, including the "contras," as the anti-Sandinista forces are known, currently operating from Honduras and Costa Rica. "Real security is a vocal opposition inside Nicaragua," said a key administration official. "There has to be a *diablos arcos*."

At the same time, to demonstrate that Washington's plan is not restricted to military measures, the administration plans to offer powerful financial incentives in the report which Kissinger hands in on Jan. 16. Kissinger is expected to recommend an economic package which will run for a number of years and, theoretically at least, address the social and economic conditions which even Reagan has admitted underlie the unrest in the region. Official refusal to specify a sum in advance, but they do say that it will be considerably bigger than the \$350-million Caribbean Basin Initiative approved by Congress this year. But the message to the Sandinistas, according to one administration official, is that "there is no way they are going to get taxpayer money while they are close to the Soviets."

A key factor in the administration's latest policy review is that it feels that the Korean airliner issue has so hard-headed congressional opinion that resistance from Congress will be negligible. Indeed the administration believes that it may soon be able to reverse a recent House vote cutting off funds for covert activities. "Who in Congress is going to get too hot for the guys that the administration says are doing the Soviet work in Central America?" said one reliable Capitol Hill source.

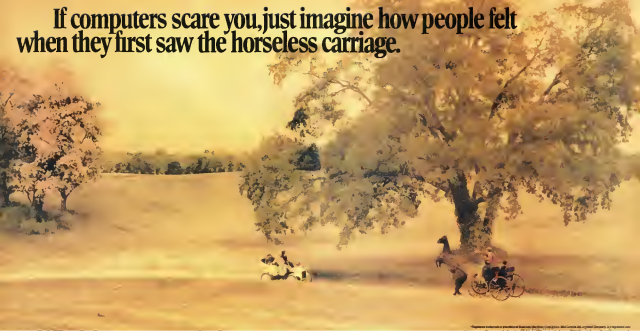
Another factor that administration officials argue has disarmed critics of its Central American policy, like Democratic Sen. Christopher Dodd (Conn.), is the success of the Salvadoran army. Last June the army launched a major drive against the guerrillas, modeled on the search and destroy missions of the Vietnam war. There have been more than 40 guerrilla attacks on Salvadoran towns and villages since Sept. 4. But administration officials argue that the guerrillas' failure to bring into any significant real estate indicates a continuing inability to adapt to the new-found aggression of the government forces. "The guerrillas are scattered and on the run," commented a key administration figure.

Military analysts, both in Washington and in Central America, are skeptical about this analysis. They point out that there was no progress at a recent



Stone (above): 'Real security is a vocal opposition'

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meeting in Bogotá, Colombia, between representatives of the Salvadorean government's police commission and a low-level delegation from the Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF), the political wing of the guerrilla alliance. The guerrillas had fully refused to contemplate taking part in the elections currently planned for next February in El Salvador, instead they are pressing their demands for national negotiations on military and social reforms. But Washington has had some of its own problems for holding elections. The administration fears that voting for a new president, parliament and municipal institutions would provide precisely the target that the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) has been looking for, given the difficulty of policing the widely scattered election meetings and polling stations. Even without the guerrilla threat, the Salvadorean elections raise the possibility that the centrists and rightists would lose their grip on government. A resurgence of attacks by right-wing death squads in recent weeks is seen as a portent, and an upsurge of violence would provide congressional critics with the ammunition they need to resume their attacks on administration policy. Its final decision has yet been reached, but the administration has let it be known that it expects to prevail upon the Salvadorean government to pull off the poll, probably until 1985.

Washington's worst plans for the region may be a bid to intervene like West Germany, France and Canada, which has been playing appeasing hopes on the Contadora Group's efforts to find a negotiated solution. External Affairs Minister Jean-Luc Piquet said in Ottawa last week that the group—Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Central America—had made significant progress towards ending hostilities. Canada, said Piquet, had an obligation to support the group and would be willing to send observers to monitor any peace agreement. "We can stand by cheering any for as long," he added.

It is also ironic that the administration is plotting to give economic assistance to Central America. It has consistently denied previous liberal recognition of this nature. Also it is not how much economic aid the tiny and fragile economies of the region can absorb without collapsing. According to reliable sources in Washington, official register studies have revealed that the Salvadorean economy would have been able to absorb current US aid, but would not have survived by a third in real terms over the past three years. But that consideration is unlikely to sway the White House in its search for an election-year success story.

—PAUL SILLMAN in Washington

BRITAIN

Stumbling toward the centre

When the British Labour Party's new leader, Neil Kinnock, stands on the beach at Brighton last week, the incident seems symbolic of his party's recent performance. Riven by internal wrangling between its left and right wings, Labour has gone down to humiliating defeat at the hands of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's triumphant Conservatives in last June's general election. Since then, Labour has tried to improve its fortunes—and indeed avoid

multifarious discomfiture. But delegates vented the long-running question without the expected bloodletting. Kinnock, at 41, the favorite for Foot's post, was confirmed in office by an overwhelming 71 per cent of the vote. The deputy's job, more closely contested, went in the end to central former Foreign Office junior minister Roy Hattersley. He defeated Michael Meehan, 46-year-old protégé of left-wing guru Tony Benn by a 2 to 1 margin. Not only that, Labour's moderates retained a comfortable 59 in 3 majority on the annual executive committee and dismissed few members of the extremist Militant Tendency from the party.

Nevertheless there was more than a hint of the traditional passions in the nuclear disarmament debate. The convention erupted in fury at Scottish Sir Glynis, Stroud accused former prime minister James Callaghan of losing the election by exposing the fallacies of Labour's defence platform. Under pressure, an outspoken Callaghan strode to the podium to deliver a nostalgic lecture to delegates. He told them that they had already made one mistake by assuming that passing resolutions and going on protest marches would convince voters "You lost millions of votes—and you will continue to do so," he declared.

For his part, Kinnock, a persuasive Welshman and former left-winger, tried hard to steer the party to the centre of British politics. He extolled socialism as "the most rational and emancipating creed known to mankind." But he also drew back Labour as "the party of the upwardly mobile." It is doing so he served notice that Labour must be sensitive to voters' wishes rather than its own ideological preferences.

Certainly if anyone can reunite Labour it is Kinnock, a slight but powerful, television personality. But many commentators believe that Labour's make-up is already irreparable. Adam Raphael, a political analyst for the *Guardian* newspaper, said that West Germany's socialists had saved themselves by rejecting Marx and opting for social democracy and a market economy. But, said Raphael, for Britain's Labour Party "that escape route is blocked by the [Labour/Scott] Alliance." Indeed, the Alliance's total of 7.1 million votes in the general election puts it in a position to succeed Labour if it maintains cohesion and drive. Clearly although Kinnock launched his party on the road to recovery at Brighton, he has still an enormous distance to cover.

—CLAIRE KENNEDY in London



Kinnock, 'upwardly mobile'

total extinction. But in the run-up to last week's party convention in the South Coast resort town the embos of discomfiture still lingered as the champions of left and right contended for the succession in retiring leader Michael Foot and his graft deputy Kevin Hawley.

But the upheaval of Kinnock's beach standstill was only partly reflected in events. The party continued its warring over nuclear disarmament, with the leftist and radical supporters decisively defeating a resolution favouring



Manila demonstration, Marcos (below) a dark horse in the manoeuvring

PHILIPPINES

Marcos faces the storm

The tone of the message was carefully considered. "Sincerely and with respect," US President Ronald Reagan told his Filipino counterpart, Ferdinand Marcos, that a planned visit to Manila in November would have to be postponed indefinitely. The reason: unexpected pressure of business in Congress. But wingers of the diplomatic mission, Reagan's

politics was a blunt acceptance of two unpleasant facts for one thing, in the current state of Filipino unrest, there could be no guarantee of Reagan's safety, a concern which is apparent in the mind of First Lady Mrs. Reagan. For another, by signing Manila, and lending his authority to Marcos at this time, Reagan risked alienating US public opinion, which is increasingly critical of Marcos' true role. Those advisers were agreed on the Filipino strongman. Still, his reply was equally evasive, and on television later he laughed off suggestions that the exiles would undermine his authority at home. "The best should always defer to the wishes of the guest," he said.

Still, Marcos' apparently uncontradicted reaction was in marked contrast to his statement two days earlier that he did not "even think about the possibility." Indeed for the increasingly besieged Filipino dictator, the decision was a harsh setback. Despite Marcos' attempts to placate the country's business community, demonstrations against his rule in the Manila financial district of Manila continued throughout last week. Then, the Philippines'

growing economic problems forced a 24-hour-wide evacuation of the peace. In turn, that raised the prospect of a squeeze on living standards that would further undermine Marcos' popularity. As well, the spectre of murdered opposition leader Benigno Aquino continued to haunt Marcos as the inquiry into Aquino's Aug 21 shooting unfolded.

Reagan's cancellation encouraged the anti-Marcos forces. As several thousand demonstrators started traffic on Manila's stately Ayala Avenue in midweek, burning newspapers to protest government press restrictions, many carried placards reading "No Reagan. Thank you for supporting democracy." A spokesman for UNICEF, a coalition of 12 opposition parties, claimed that the assassination of Aquino while he was in the custody of government security at Manila airport had shown Reagan that Marcos "could not provide adequate security."

Advised opposition leader Arturo Aquino, brother of the late senator, "Naturally we are very happy." But Aquino, whose Justice for Aquino, Justice for All movement has announced a massive and disruptive campaign, added a warning that, as a result, "Marcos will probably end up on us."

Indulged Marcos probably did intend to snuff out further after seven weeks of protest following the Aquino assassination. In addition to dozens of arrests, 30 people have died so far, and on Sept. 30 riot police fired pellets into the air and showered 2,000 demonstrators in Manila with tear gas canisters. But the financial crisis forced him to change his mind. With the International Monetary Fund virtually refusing to extend devaluations, Marcos recognized the need to placate the business community. In part his strategy was to relax the curfew imposed by Manila police commander General Roberto Benerio. But he also held meetings with leaders of the business community, including the former Sobel, 60-year-old head of the Ayala Corporation, an international real estate and banking giant, in an attempt to solicit their support for tough economic measures to ease the Philippines' financial plight.

Another setback, Marcos addressed in his talks with business leaders was the strengthening of the commission investigating Aquino's murder. Skepticism about the government's role in the shooting continues to mount, but the commission has failed to meet for several weeks. Not only that, as chairman, Chief Justice Enriqueson has resigned because of a conflict of interest, and Arturo Teleniano, a Marcos loyalist and a member of the National Assembly, has replaced him. Marcos found the business community critical rather than supportive. Indeed while speculation on a possible succession, Marcos has centred so far on the military, there is a growing sense in business circles that the country needs the economic expertise and clout of a figure like Sobel.

Sobel himself has so far denied any presidential ambitions. But he has the Manila business community, which has escaped for economic and political reform since mid-1982. Indeed Sobel and his Ayala Corporation is many ways an idealist, having largely created the financial district, a modern Manila-Dalrymple, out of a government-granted state land mid-1960s. Now Sobel is widely regarded as a dark horse in the manoeuvring for the succession to Marcos and he is reportedly "seriously" considering speculation by resigning as Ayala's chief executive officer. Certainly for Marcos, deprived of the White House seal of approval, the emergence of such a rival could mark the most serious development yet.

—LEE STRAUSS in Manila



Tanaka's journey to court

The train shoots out of the Tachikawa tunnel at 134 km an hour. It is Japan's newest Shinkansen, or bullet train, and the rule is no conversation that is a cigarette balanced on the end over the top of the train. There are other surprises as well. For one thing, most of the cars are empty. For another, when the train makes a brief stop at Echigo-Hasetsu, one of the main stations, the view is not of an industrial center but of a small mountainous village. That is because Echigo-Hasetsu lies in the Niigata peninsula, Japan's westernmost, the personal domain of Kakuei Tanaka, until 1974 the country's prime minister and still the most powerful man in the country. Tanaka, renowned in disgrace as a result of a fraudulent land deal, and this week a Tokyo high court will deliver its verdict in the Lockheed bribery scandal. The former prime minister is accused of taking \$16.6 million while in office from the Lockheed aircraft corporation—in return for buying 500 T-71 fighters for Japan.

Many observers predict that a guilty verdict could set off a major crisis within the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), which has governed Japan without interruption for the past 28 years. But the \$16.6 million Tanaka is accused of swiping from Lockheed is a small sum compared to the money he makes for himself and his followers in Niigata. Long before Tanaka, because groups prosper in 1972 on a platform outlined in his bestseller *Remodeling the Japanese Archipelago*—which set out a plan to spread heavy industry to the rural hinterland—he had harbored similar dreams for his constituents. Niigata had 3.5 million of the five million population in a 20th-century flight from the land. To stop the trend, Tanaka at first tried the traditional LDP policies of redrawing electoral districts to favor underpopulated rural areas and then buying mass popularity with huge farm subsidies that when those measures failed he resolved to use massive public works projects around this grand scheme for the rest of Japan collapsed with his resignation as prime minister. But Niigata has never ceased to benefit. Tanaka, who remains a member of the Japanese parliament, exercises wide control over the LDP's majority faction (130 votes) in parliament as well as key segments of government bureaucracy.

Because of that he was able, among other things, to arrange construction of the Joetsu Shinkansen, the bullet train from Omiya, a suburb of Tokyo, to Niigata at a cost of \$180 billion when it was

opened last November. It took \$9.3 billion a year. Unlike his favored predecessor, which links such major population centers as Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka and Hiroshima, and makes a huge profit, the Joetsu will not break even for another 50 years.

For one thing, more than a third of the track passes through tunnels bored at Tanaka's request under Japan's Central Highlands. Since 12-ft. snowfalls are common in Niigata, roughly 30,000 snow water sprinklers were installed over the 60 km of the line to melt more at the onset of winters. Last winter they were turned on for 58 days and the bill to Japanese taxpayers was \$5.3 million. The line has destroyed any hope Japanese National Railways had of paying off its \$96.4 billion total debt.

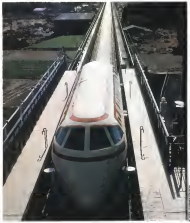
In building the bullet train line, Tanaka sought to ensure the loyalty of his village constituents in Niigata's No. 3 electoral district. He also liked the wal-



Tanaka: the voters reaped the reward

lets of his own or his supporters' construction companies and those of Niigata farmers, who reaped huge windfalls from selling land to the railway. But the Joetsu Shinkansen is only one of the gifts that Tanaka provided to his constituents. Gyassu (pop. 15,000), one of the bullet train's three stops in the No. 3

Bullet train: two centers for "researching snowfall" and a Hall for Exotic Wild Plants



district has a new highway to Tokyo that also spared a property and land boom. "We should be very grateful to Tanaka-san," said 75-year-old Haruji Miyazaki, Gyassu's former mayor, who is now the director of the Society for Land Allocation. "Before it used to be a very bad road." As well, a town hall opened last year at a cost of \$5.3 million, and a \$142.1-million hospital was inaugurated six years ago. An impressive low-income cluster of cottages and "women's guild" centers are under construction beside the railway station.

The other 33 cities, towns and villages in the No. 3 district have also taken it rich in what the Japanese call "Tanaka's gold vote." Every construction minister since 1973 has been a member of the Tanaka faction and, not surprisingly, Niigata tops the list of public works projects throughout Japan. Infrastructure, for one, has only 2,709 subprefects but it has a \$600,000 "Hall for Exotic Wild Plants," a \$2.5 million culture and sports center, two government buildings, two "centers for researching snowfall," a new conference hall and a "speaking terminal" subsidized with public money on Tanaka's directive at a cost of \$500,000.

In return for his generosity, Tanaka expects loyalty and "rewards," usually channeled into his "political fund." A 50,000-member vote-gathering machine, the *tanakaikai*, ensures that everything runs smoothly in No. 3 district and that any dissent is stifled. Most of the farmers and local business leaders are members. The chairman's, Niigata headquarters is the Tokyo Transport Company office, another Tanaka company, is Niigata.

The chairman has put up a solid front of support for Tanaka during the Lockheed trial. It recently sent three thousands of supporters to cheer the former prime minister at his Tokyo residence when he fell ill with high blood pressure. But another chairman, publicist Masao Iwano, from the No. 3 district is being groomed for the succession as "one thing should go badly for 'the boss'."

Still, the region's loyalty to Tanaka is absolute. "I've always said he would be found guilty," said Miyazaki. "But you cannot compare Tanaka with other people, he is a great man." Tanaka himself is equally forthright. "Some people criticize me for spending too much money, for bringing national expenses only to my constituency in Niigata. But I do not think a politician who fails to enrich his own constituency can contribute to Japan as a whole or the world," he declared. "This week's verdict will show the Japanese will demonstrate whether the Japanese courts and the people as a whole agree with him."

—PETER MUGRA in Tokyo



The South Korean cabinet groping for order: colleagues "viciously, premeditated" act

BURMA

The slaughter in Rangoon

The official ceremonies at the start of a six-session tour, the highest level since the South Korean government last year undertook, were about to reach a climax. In a solemn atmosphere their senior Burmese hosts and more than a score of the South Korean political and administrative elite had arrived at the Martyrs' Museum in the Burmese capital of Rangoon. Then, as the official luncheon bearing South Korean President Chun Doo-hwan approached the doorway for an official welcome-lyng to honor Burmese national hero Gen. Aung San, disaster struck. A huge bomb blew the roof off the building, killing 19 people, including four top South Korean cabinet ministers, and injuring 65 others. A grieving Chan, who had been only seconds away from death himself, returned to Seoul immediately. As Burmese President San Yu condemned a "heavily and premeditated act," Chun issued a statement of his own. He declared that North Korea was fully responsible for "this premeditated heinous plot."

In the immediate aftermath of the bombing, diplomatic sources in Rangoon and Seoul said that other groups—in addition to the North Koreans—had their own motives for such a plot. They cited a recent wave of student unrest within South Korea, that echoed the massive demonstrations that greeted Chan's accession to power after the 1979 assassination of his predecessor, Park Chung-hee. Other sources blamed the Burmese Communist Party, which has been responsible for a number of bomb attacks in the past. But the mass weight

of suspicion fell on the ruling regime of Kim Il Sung in North Korea.

There was no doubt at all about the magnitude of the devastation wreaked by the bomb in Rangoon. As survivors, stunned and bleeding, staggered from the wreckage, they left behind them the bodies of South Korean Deputy Prime Minister Suh Se-don, Foreign Minister Lee Hae-soo, Commerce and Industry Minister Kim Dong-Wan, Science and Resources Minister Suh Sang-chul, and Chun's Ambassador in Rangoon Lee Kuo-Chang. Among the injured Burmese were former Minister Aung Kyeu Myint and Thon Hsiao, deputy culture minister. Indeed the blast not only virtually destroyed the South Korean political leadership but threatened its recent economic recovery, as well. The purpose of the proposed tour of Burma, India, Sri Lanka, Australia, New Zealand and Brunei was largely to strengthen South Korea's growing economic ties in the region.

The deaths caused an immediate international diplomatic furor. Leaders from around the world expressed outrage and South Korea placed 690,000 troops and police on full alert. Washington, too, placed its 40,000 troops, who help to defend the country's border with North Korea, in a state of readiness. As well, South Korea, still recovering from the shattering of Korean Airlines Flight 370 by Soviet fighters five weeks ago, was in a state of shock. Said one Seoul broadcaster: "After the earlier accident, why should any country again have to suffer?"

—BRIAN JOYNER in Hong Kong



The award-winner celebrating: 'a triumph of moral forces over brute force'

POLAND

Walesa: Nobel's man of peace

In Washington and other Western capitals, the reaction to last week's award of the Nobel Peace Prize to former Solidarity movement leader Lech Walesa was ecstatic. U.S. President Ronald Reagan hailed "a triumph of moral forces over brute force." Added Reagan: "It's a victory for those who seek to enlarge the human spirit over those who seek to crush it." In Poland, too, there was widespread satisfaction, although the Communist authorities struck a predictably sour note, describing the award as "politically motivated." In Gdansk, Walesa's wife, Danuta, said she was "very, very delighted," a view that many of Walesa's former Solidarity colleagues echoed. Declared Tadeusz Maszowski, former editor of the movement's weekly journal, *Tygodnik Solidarnosc*: "It is good news. It gives a feeling of great satisfaction to many people."

But there were also reservations. For one thing, the Polish authorities are unlikely to allow Walesa to go to Oslo to receive his \$125,000 (U.S.) prize. For another, while the award gave a powerful boost to the morale of opponents to the Communist regime, it was unlikely to have much practical effect in mitigating the severe restrictions that still afflict ordinary Poles after the "normalization" of political life last July 22nd. For Walesa the award was a much-needed tonic. Officially, his subject of the 40-year-old activist is a campaigner of personal abuse in recent weeks as two

courts that he advocated confrontation between Solidarity and the authorities, and that he hindered foreign currency abroad, perhaps illegally. Not only that, Walesa had been absent from his electronics job in the Gdansk shipyards with a painful gastric ulcer attack. As Roman Catholic episcopal spokesman Henryk Brzadzka said: "He needs the award to keep up his spirits."

The citation from the Norwegian Nobel committee was calculated to do just that. It described Walesa as "an exponent of the active hunger for peace and freedom which exists accompanied in all the peoples of the world." Then, noting that a campaign for human rights is a campaign for peace, the committee added: "Walesa's attempts to find a peaceful solution to his country's problems will contribute to a relaxation of international tensions." Poland's state-run media quickly challenged that interpretation. Claiming that "world public opinion" felt that the prize was being abused, it added that the award was delivered "amid heightened international tensions and propagandist aggression against Poland." However, sources close to the Nobel committee revealed that Walesa's name came at the end of a long list of dissidents who had been similarly ignored. Among the names on the roster: Chief Albert Lutikh, former president of the banned South African black nationalist movement, the African National Congress, and a oppositionist camp victim, Carl van Oosterhout,

an anti-Nazi journalist active in the 1930s.

Walesa, who founded Solidarity in August, 1980, and spent 13 months in detention after General Wojciech Jaruzelski's declaration of martial law in December, 1981, fits easily into that company. Throughout the quest for union freedom that culminated in the Gdansk Accord, the stocky activist, with his trademark white sweatshirt, combined moderation with a firm pursuit of human rights. In recent months, he has played a more visible role. Indeed, after Pope John Paul's visit to Poland in June there were reports, hotly denied by the Vatican and Walesa himself, that the Pope had struck a deal with Jaruzelski, trading a limited relaxation of state controls for Walesa's renunciation.

Last week, when the Nobel committee announced the award, Walesa was enjoying a day away from the public eye—packing mushrooms in the country. But on his return a crowd of 1,000 greeted him with banners of flowers and shouts of "Solidarity, Solidarity!" Walesa's response to the development was typical both of his devout modesty and his determination. The prize, he said, would be given to the Roman Catholic church's planned fund to aid private enterprise in Poland. The scheme is currently under discussion between the church and the Polish authorities. As for his own future: "I will continue to do what I have always done, nothing will divert me from my way," he said. That statement left no doubt at all that Walesa, officially described as a "private person" after the state imposed Solidarity under martial law, will continue to remain a very public figure in the months ahead. ☐

PEOPLE

Symbols come and go, but Geri Sheela Lesure has high hopes for permanence in the notoriously fickle public eye. The 26-year-old daughter of Quebec's minister for social development, **Doris Lesure**, has already got a firm foothold in Paris where she is the toast of the French press on the basis of her sometimes steamy movies. "I don't know why people have thrown themselves on me," she says unashamedly. Lesure, whose mother is from Philadelphia, is hoping that her fluency in English will help her break into Hollywood, although she says she wants to work primarily in Europe where directors make films more quickly. For now, she will occupy herself with a stage version of *Gene* with the *Wind* in Paris. Describing the reporters who have promoted her as publicity, Lesure declared: "Journalists are rats. They are the worst species in the world. They talk to you for two hours and in the last five minutes you say something you regret and that becomes the headline" that should have warned her.

The cmc's latest excursion into the world of prime-time soap operas, *Vanderberg*, first appeared in three episodes last fall. Afterward, the cmc was preparing for the shooting of the final three installments. Their producer **Sam Levine** got a phone call from his leading lady "I'm pregnant," said **Susan Hogan**. "Congratulations," said Levine, who swiftly phoned his writers and had



Lesure (above): *'Journalists are rats, they are the worst species'*

them revise Hogan's character accordingly. As a result, viewers next month will see that Elisabeth Vanderberg, the unhappy, neglected wife of Hank Vanderberg, is carrying a child. For **Charles Hagen**, born on Sept. 14, family life will not be so complicated and manageable. And far from a neglected childhood, the sweetest Hogan has already had a more attentive father: **Michael Hagen** was in hand for much of the

pregnancy by virtue of the fact that he plays tyroon Hank in the six-part miniseries, which started Oct. 9.

When Cecil Parkinson, one of Margaret Thatcher's closest confidants, was humbly banished from his position as chairman of the British Conservative Party three weeks ago, the dismissed leader's lawyer warned *Thatcher's* claims to the psychic powers she said she had used to aid Parkinson's business ventures, while the 23-year-old woman charged that Parkinson was a member of a mind cult, a "conspiracy" and a drug addict. Despite the allegations, Parkinson's lawyer said she would sue the 41-year-old owner of the *Edmonton* *Times* for libel.

But the press of that confrontation was a two-week trial that frequently had the newspapers in stitches as each side sought to discredit the other. Parkinson's lawyer warned *Thatcher's* claims to the psychic powers she said she had used to aid Parkinson's business ventures, while the 23-year-old woman charged that Parkinson was a member of a mind cult, a "conspiracy" and a drug addict. Despite the allegations, Parkinson's lawyer said she would sue the 41-year-old owner of the *Edmonton* *Times* for libel. *Thatcher's* lawyer was cheerful after the verdict. "It looks like nothing," he said. "The former candidate for the federal Conservative leadership said, adding that he did not think the case would have any political implications. He may have. "I don't do anything at all," he said, "except to show that I stand up for what I believe in." ☐

Hogan, Susan, Charles and Michael's last rewrite



The B of M makes a neighborly buy

Faced with slow growth in Canada and huge debts in the Third World, the Bank of Montreal turned south last week and made a neighborly acquisition: a \$172-million takeover of Harris Bankers Inc. of Chicago, the 23rd largest U.S. bank. Canada's oldest bank promptly moved into several pieces of domestic assets and signalled its intention to become a major player in the U.S. market. The deal increases the reach of Canadian banks to expand in the United States. Observed Harris-Paul Rousseau, a Laval executive, "They have to go somewhere. The obvious place is the U.S."

Foreign banks chafing under tight controls in Canada now have a new weapon in their fight to ease the restrictions in the still highly regulated world of Canadian high finance. Many analysts could not immediately see the merits of the long-remembered takeover. But it marked a major shift for the Bank of Montreal, and its aggressive, U.S.-born chairman, William Mulholland.

The purchase of Harris gives the Bank of Montreal greater access to the lucrative U.S. corporate lending sector at a time when the Canadian market is stagnant. The major reservation that most experts had was the price—\$22 (U.S.) a share. Bank officials defended the bid, however, and said that dividends over the next year could mean that the real price will drop to \$15 per share. In addition, Mulholland asserted that the complementary nature of the two banks will provide new opportunities for growth. The agreement, which is subject to approval by U.S. authorities, gives the 146-year-old Canadian bank control of an institution with assets of \$24 billion (U.S.). Most of Harris' lending goes to mid-size companies.

The purchase is bound to increase pressure from foreign banks, especially U.S. institutions, for more room to compete in Canada. Indeed, the day after the announcement Allan Taylor, president of the Royal Bank, told the House of Commons Finance committee that restrictions on foreign banks are discon-

tinuity and unnecessary—a view long held by the Bank of Montreal. Since the 1980 amendments to the Bank Act allowed foreign banks into the core world of Canadian banking for the first time, 39 institutions have opened Canadian offices. But the foreign banks are unhappy about being limited to eight per cent of the Canadian market, because most of them already are at the limit. The Commons committee is expected to recommend an increase in the limit, but not removal. As Geoffrey Fowler, president of the Canadian unit of Britain's Barclays Bank plc, conceded, "You can't go from a comfortable

37-year-old Bank of Montreal chairman. Before moving to Canada in 1969—he now lives near Toronto—Mulholland was a partner in the New York investment house of Morgan Stanley and Co. There he was an active and successful international banker. During his tenure in Canada the Bank of Montreal has evolved from a stodgy retail bank to a more aggressive competitor in all areas of business. Under Mulholland, the bank has opened multi-branch banking and interest rate "sales." Now he is leading his bank south into the big leagues. As a result of the Harris deal, B of M will be the north-

largest foreign bank in the United States. The deal also allows Harris to join with an established bank whose resources will put it in place to compete in the newly deregulated U.S. banking industry. "Harris is an early example of what we're likely to see among banks that are large, but not the largest in major cities," said Joel Block, a McKinsey & Co. consultant. "These banks are too small to be national players."

Electric management and shareholders shared the sentiment. The Harris family, which still holds about 35 per cent of the bank's 64 million shares, has agreed to transfer them to the Bank of Montreal and Chairman Charles Blum set beside Mulholland to underline the friendly nature of the takeover.

The price of the takeover was the major concern for many analysts. "The Bank of Montreal has to do something to make this acquisition better," said Roy Palmer of Alfred Shering and Co. Ltd. Wasted Bankers Consortium of McCarthy Securities Ltd., "Big splashes don't make big profits." There was, however, little disagreement with the strategy of moving into the United States. "It's about time a Canadian bank took the step and bought a bank," said Mary Lemke, of Midland Delbert Ltd. Now it is up to William Mulholland and his bank to show the world that they bought the right bank and can survive in the ultra-angry financial world in the United States. ♦



Mulholland (right) and Harris Bank's Blum. They have to go somewhere.

alogously to an all-out free-for-all." Meanwhile, the comfortable Canadian banks have grown to world-class size and have looked abroad for room to grow in recent years. That, however, has led to the same oversaturation in Third World nations that has afflicted much of the international banking community. And the Bank of Montreal has been one of the most aggressive international lenders among Canadian banks—in 1982, foreign business accounted for almost one third of its assets. As a result of that overexposure overseas, Canadian banks have looked increasingly for entry into the United States where the recovery is healthier, loans are safer and the opportunities greater.

The move also marks a return to familiar battlefields for Mulholland, the

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A run on the bank in Buenos Aires, del Solar (below), an unhappy debtor

Deeper and deeper in debt

It is 11,000 kms between the elegant board rooms of the International Monetary Fund and a jail cell in the Patagonian region of Argentina. But Julio González del Solar, the president of Argentina's central bank, made that trip last week—and, in the process, his country came perilously close to the brink of default on part of its \$40 billion (U.S.) national debt. The reason: after González del Solar's arrest, foreign banks stopped more than \$500 million in loans.

By the end of the week authorities released the 67-year-old banker in Buenos Aires to negotiate with international lenders. But González del Solar's experience was a sobering reminder of how close the international financial community is to overtaking disaster as it struggles to deal with the Third World debt crisis. And although Argentina, which is one of the world's largest debtors, is continuing talks on its debt rescheduling, one underlying problem stems from the nationalistic nature of Argentine society. A further complication is the election scheduled for Oct. 30, which is meant to end almost eight years of military rule. Campaign rhetoric has often been with denunciations of foreign banks. Both major opposition parties have said that they do not regard the military government as legitimate and may not honor the debt repayment commitments etc. "All you have to do is screen foreign imperialism and poison Plaza de Mayo filled us for minutes," said one worried American banker in Buenos Aires last week.

González del Solar's problems started when he flew home from the annual meeting of the IMF early last week. Police arrested him at the airport under a warrant issued by an obscure provincial judge, Federico Pita Kramer. The charges of "prejudicial" national interests forced out of a \$200 million loan to refinance the state airline, Aerolíneas Argentinas, and the provision that gave jurisdiction of the loan agreement to courts in New York. Authorities flew González del Solar to Rio Gallegos in Patagonia where the judge interrupted him after two days in jail. The government persuaded an appeal court to remove the case from Judge Pita Kramer. The 30-year-old judge accepted the decision, but said his investigation would continue. "We cannot put the sovereignty of Argentina, below the laws of New York State," he said.

In conspiracy-conscious Argentina, there was immediate speculation that the judge, acting on behalf of the air force, had intentionally provoked the crisis. Reported, the air force is the military branch most opposed to the return to civilian rule later this month. That may account for Argentine President Riquelme's delay in ending the appeal court ruling that removed Pita Kramer from the case—even though foreign bankers immediately froze loan disbursements to the troubled country. Pita Kramer said he had received a flood of congratulatory telegrams from people

across the country for his stand. But the uncertainty caused by the situation caused a run at the banks after rumors spread that the government was considering nationalizing the creditors of safety deposit boxes. To add to the confusion, the Peronist-dominated trade unions called a 24-hour strike last Tuesday to back pay demands of 17 per cent for many members who, like the rest of the nation, are faced with a 335 per cent inflation rate.

Money reigned in the international banking community. For starters, the Aerolíneas Argentinas rescheduling was intended to be the model for renegotiating a total of \$2 billion in debt owed by state companies. But beyond that, Argentina's reliability as a debtor has been cast in doubt. "The whole affair raises questions about the risk of lending to this country," read an American banker. However, talks to deal with the \$40 billion already owing continued last week and the country suspended all foreign exchange transactions, which could bring the country's factories to a halt within three weeks.

Until the negotiations are successfully completed—and the appeal court gives its ruling on Judge Pita Kramer's charges—the foreign banks have halted payment of more than \$500 million in previously arranged loans.

With the elections in three weeks and more political turmoil almost certain, the resolution of the latest chapter in the international debt crisis could take months. Only Julio González del Solar can say that life is more tranquil. ☐



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Rewriting the social contract

By Peter C. Newman

There is a certain Monsieur cast to the man as he makes it perfectly clear that it is only the unconcerned who don't share his view of the world. No Canadian politician in power holds a more extraordinary view of his mandate than Bill Bennett, not only running his controversial restraint program through the B.C. Legislature in one all-night wrangle after another.

Centered in his office, studying the mounting criticism within his province, Bennett recently granted me one of his rare interviews (page 38). He seems self-confident and cheerful even though B.C.'s so-called Solidarity Coalition is planning a general strike later this month.

Bennett has done just about everything that successful Canadian politicians are not supposed to do. He has dismantled rent controls (because he feels landlords are an oppressed minority), has begun reducing the province's civil service by an estimated 20 per cent (firing loyal bureaucrats with a little less as if they were Duke bond salesman), and has decisively shrunk the scope and size of his government's social welfare program (at a time when the province has nearly a quarter of a million people unemployed).

Bennett may or may not be aware of the precise nature of the dramatic transformation over which he is presiding. What he is in the process of doing is nothing less than rewriting the social contract on which Canada has functioned since C.D. Howe tabled his White Paper on Employment and Income in April 12, 1945.

Quite apart from Bennett's own actions, seven provincial governments across the country are watching to see if he'll get away with his daring gambit. "We've had a lot of quiet encouragement from the other provinces," he told me, "people saying 'we'd like to do what you're doing, but we're waiting to see how you come out.'"

It's a sign of how far we have come in recognizing the elite that governments must undertake our basic needs that Bennett's objective of lowering his treasury revenues and expenditures is seen as a radical act. He and his ministers point out that government spending has doubled in the past two decades, taking up more than half the country's gross national product. The Great Depression of the 1930s affected everyone, but few paid much attention to the fact

that the bottom dropped out of government revenues.

For Ottawa, this meant a \$39-billion-plus deficit, far B.C.'s income from the province's export-oriented forest and mining industries dropped by catastrophic proportions. "So here we are with this appetite for public expenditures that cannot be met," says B.C. Science Minister Pat McGee. "It's like a person five feet who weighs 300 pounds. For anyone in that condition, the first



Howie: what a politician should not do

few days on a diet are the most painful—and that's precisely what we're doing: trimming down the body-mass of government."

What Bennett and his cohorts are actually implementing goes a lot further than that. Instead of just saving money, much of the legislation now before the B.C. lawmakers is designed to get rid of what Bennett labels as counter-productive events. This includes abolition of the Human Rights Commission,

which he contends was making social workers rich instead of helping the underprivileged.

"Real commissions, human rights commissions, all these consumer commissions—a myth has been created by those who advocate them that because they are arm's length from government, they are somehow pure. They are neither democratic nor do they have to face the constraints that all governments should face—and that is to be responsible to the electorate at given periods of time."

To help balance his books (even with the restraint, provincial Finance Minister Hugh Martin is budgeting for a \$1.6-billion deficit), Bennett is determined to privatize such government functions as running old facilities, bus lines, computer systems and, eventually, the government's insurance company. He talks smoothly about applying "the market factor" to government ("We've introduced legislation that will allow us to manage government on the taxpayer's ability to pay—the same market factor that exists in business. We've given ourselves the tools of lay-off provisions under similar conditions that exist in the private sector.")

Although the B.C. premier eschews political labels (including the seemingly less onerous of Social Credit), he is careful to dig a wide ditch between himself and "the socialists."

Since 1975, the style of political leadership in B.C. has moved from the paternalistic wisdom of W.A.C. Bennett to the fraternal assistance of Dave Barrett and the technocratic individualism of the current incumbent. While the emphasis of the NDP has always been on the redistribution of wealth, the Socialists have concentrated on fostering economic growth with minimal government involvement.

This historic polarization took a dramatic turn with the Bennett restraint program, but it's just a matter of teaching old dogs new tricks. Bill Bennett learned his politics at his father's knee. In his farewell address to the Social Credit convention that chose his son as leader, the elder Bennett ended his oration on a nostalgic note: "This is a holy crusade! Don't rest until this foreign philosophy of extreme state socialism is done away with."

That's the real reason Bill Bennett is rewriting the social contract for the citizens of Canada's Pacific Coast. Changes he will turn out to be not only a crusader but a prophet.



Through a golden looking-glass

By Paul Russell

The first painting depicts a human skull, perched on the work pages of a leather-bound book, peering to the left over a gold pocket watch and beyond its dark wood frame. Coincidentally, that painting is hanging at that the skull actually grins at another painting which shows a banquet table with silver platters and glistening chafers filled with wine, fruits, meats and no-

Canadian troops liberated much of Holland in 1945 and the royal family lived in exile in Ottawa during the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands. Princess Margriet, fourth in line to the Dutch throne, was born in Ottawa and she flew to Toronto to open the exhibition.

Dutch Painting of the Golden Age is divided by theme. There are sky-filled paintings of land and sea to establish the physical context of Holland. These minutely observed still life ensembles

of city of Haarlem clustered around the towering church of St. Bavo. Vermeer's *Head of a Girl*, the Mona Lisa of Dutch painting, is the undisputed star of the show. Jan Steen's raucous group portraits are outdone by Jan Fyt's *Girl Eating Apples*, which invites the viewer to join her in the apple-core feast before going to bed. The clear escapades by Van de Velde dominated the seafaring expertise that made Holland rich, and the straggled church interiors by Emanuel de Witte seem to control and compose the reality of the enigmatic people they contain.

There are also canvas new to most North Americans—painters who display talents that rival their more (Flemish) contemporaries. A sun-drenched pastoral canvas by Pieter de Vries is a 17th-century version of the Bible's Garden of Eden. Jan Verkolke's *The Messenger* is a visual feast of texture and expression. Together in a gallery, this assembly of color and form displays the intuitive talent and virtuoso skill that generated the Dutch painting community during a truly golden age.

That skill appears in the exotic turban of a newly born Dutch empire in the Americas, in a study by Albert Eckhout, and in the proud portraits of a home landscape only recently wrested from the imperial grip of the Spanish king. But the Dutch artists preferred above all to use their skill to glorify the way of life of their patron class. Their canvases tell viewers that those urban expatriates were adventurous people with commercial interests around the world. They were also very rich, and they loved to wear their wealth to the full extent that Calvinist deacons would permit (17th-century Holland officially banned the beading glow of Calvin's reformist fervor). Because the Protestant ethic had resulted in their accumulation of wealth, they would have considered "art for art's sake" to be a wicked distortion of proper values. Their genre



Rembrandt's Self-Portrait as a Young Man: the great names

The show *Dutch Painting of the Golden Age* from the *Royal Picture Gallery* came from the Mauritshuis, in the Hague. The building, a 17th-century classical mansion built for Count John Maurits, who only lived there for three years, is undergoing extensive renovation. That development gives North American art lovers the opportunity to see a body of work that represents the great age of Dutch painting. (The show will move to New York's Metropolitan Museum next year.)

For the Dutch royal family, and the Mauritsian organizers, the Canadian stay was especially important—another official expression of gratitude from the Dutch government and people for Canadian hospitality at home, and courage abroad, during the Second World War.

nature's details. Allegorical, usually holier-than-thou "genre works" show episodes of daily life. And a series of profoundly human portraits offers insights into the individuals who formed what was a major empire. All of the great names in Dutch painting are represented: Rembrandt signed two extraordinary self-portraits from the beginning and end of his career, along with an enigmatic nude. Dutch van Ruisdael painted his brilliant, cloud-filled view of the an-

enters were adventurous people with commercial interests around the world. They were also very rich, and they loved to wear their wealth to the full extent that Calvinist deacons would permit (17th-century Holland officially banned the beading glow of Calvin's reformist fervor). Because the Protestant ethic had resulted in their accumulation of wealth, they would have considered "art for art's sake" to be a wicked distortion of proper values. Their genre



Feller's Cow Reflected in the Water: a sun-drenched version of the Garden of Eden

paintings needed moral purpose, they had to tell a story with a righteous conclusion. These visual tales usually revolved around control of the senses which, if the artists were astute, the Dutch seemed to have had to resist and repress.

Every brushstroke affirms the material world, a love of life and a tenuous admission for wine, women and laughter. The fascination is religiously framed in allegory that points out the sad results of such pursuits. But the allegory never gets in the way of the pursuit of pleasure. *Musical Company*,

an elegant painting by Gabriel Metsu, opens the door to a private sitting room where friends are sharing a musical afternoon. A young man looks lovingly at his lady, who looks up, pen and paper poised in the air, suspended between thought and decision. Her companion, another young woman, holds the lute, symbol of the control of the passions, in a ready position for play. Hanging above them, a painting of ships tossed in a stormy sea alludes to the results of uncontrolled passion. The composition is an elaborate tale of musings. Still, the players are all so intensely alive,

healthy and rich in clothing and surroundings that the materialism of the artist's outlook pervades his work despite the allegorical suggestions that try to direct the viewer's thoughts to more austere meditations. *Musical Company*, for all its control, is about sex and violence, the themes that now keep people watching television and movie screens.

The Dutch love of life is all the more poignant because of its awareness of life's brevity. In canvas after canvas the artist's skill captures a fleeting moment, a gesture, an illusory thought, the flicker of a goldenrod's wing, the sparkle in a young woman's glance, the epiphany of a banquet setting as the moon first and fresh music trouble on their plates. A moment later, all would be different. It would also be true of the Dutch people. A moment later, another century, the freshness of spirit left their art, their hope-for-ecstasy on the Hudson and in Brazil had passed to others, the historical moment of their golden age had passed.

But the paintings remain to tell their tales of pride, in dress, patterns and material, and the elegant appointments of town houses, to record visions of these exciting imported touches, especially the intricately patterned rugs from Turkey, that sold just how well-accepted these people were Dutch. *Painting of the Golden Age* displays the proud consciousness of our own time when it first appeared among the new merchants of Europe in the new Dutch Republic, three centuries ago. ☐



Eckhout's Study of Two Brazilian Savanna Tortoises: a new empire in the Americas



Château de l'Aéroport before its shutdown: reasons for not locating in Québec

LABOR

More muscle for strikers

At Montreal's Mirabel airport, CP Hotels Ltd. closed its luxurious, 365-room Château de l'Aéroport in the Mariville suburb of St. Laurent, Monrovia Canada Ltd., an airplane parts maker, plans to move its operations out of the province, meaning a loss of 600 jobs in Québec. The two developments are among the most drastic side-effects in a far of controversial strike-breaking legislation that the Parti Québécois government put into effect last month. The improved legal protection for striking workers has finally enhanced the p.q.'s popularity among workers. But it has also provoked bitterness among employers in a province where, according to opposition economic critic René Storti's report, 135,000 jobs have disappeared in the past two years. Said the Liberal M.L.A. "Every businessman you talk to mentions, in one order or another, the language laws, the high taxes, the reprehensible obsession and now the amendments to the labor code as reasons for leaving or not locating in Québec."

When the PQ in 1976 prohibited employers from hiring new workers to fill in for striking or locked-out employees, then labor minister Pierre-Marc Johnson promoted the move as the most "progressive" labor legislation in North

America. New amendments to the Québec Labor Code that went into effect last month restrict the operating leasing of labor-treaded companies even further. For one thing, they prohibit a company from assigning any non-management employees, or any management personnel who normally work outside the affected establishment, to a striking or locked-out union member's job. On-site managers and administrators may still fill in for the absent workers.

The effect on the Château de l'Aéroport was immediate: the 130 unskilled employees affiliated to Québec's Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) have been on strike since Jan. 1 in back demands for better pay. But CP was able to keep the hotel open by delegating managers and other nonunionized staff to cook, clean, act as bellhops and perform other duties normally provided by the strikers. Not only that, but CP moved in administrators from its other hotels to help out. When that practice became illegal last month, CP was no longer able to keep the hotel operating. The outside administrators retained in their regular jobs, the Château shut its doors and, except for a few maintenance employees, it remains empty.

Dumais was never good at the Chateau de l'Aéroport, where an estimated 60-per-cent company rate reflected the sparse traffic at Mirabel airport. Still, CP Hotels denies that it is planning to make the shutdown permanent. Its reopening now depends on a breakthrough in negotiations, but the two sides have not spoken in five weeks.

The situation is just as serious at Monrovia, where it now appears certain that the company will soon move its St. Laurent operation across the border into Ontario. Monrovia locked out its unskilled employees on July 10, 1982, over a contract dispute that deadlocked over issues of temporary job transfers to higher levels, discipline procedures and time off for union business. The firm maintained its schedule of providing landing gear and other aircraft parts to such customers as Boeing, McDonnell-Douglas and de Havilland by a combination of subcontracting and reassigning nonmanagement employees and managers. But 60 of the 120 workers manning the production line could no longer do so legally under the new amendments.

The firm has been operating in Montreal since 1944. Despite several changes of ownership (it is now owned by Cdn Industries of New York), it is a bankruptcy in 1971, labor trouble had been restricted to two one-week strikes. Then in May, 1982, in the midst of contract negotiations, the unskilled employees, members of the independent Association of Hydraulic Workers of Monrovia, closed a service contract with the CNTU, an umbrella labor body. When they subsequently turned down a contract including wage increases which the company said would have settled them 30 per cent over three years, they were locked out. Monrovia began to offer to transfer 300 employees to its off-shore Canadian site. But the 60 locked-out employees—whose average salaries including cost-of-living adjustments would have been nearly \$10,000 a year under company terms—refused to be relocated.

Monrovia's decision underscored a continuing stand-off between businesses and the Québec government. For their part, some locked-out workers resented to Monrovia's planned move by smothering plant windows, splashing paint and changing cars in the entry lot, and the CNTU said it will sue the company for \$10 million for "harassing in bad faith." The Monrovia and Château de l'Aéroport shutdowns are serious to keep labor questions high on the agenda of a government which has already delayed the opening of the National Assembly by a month—to concentrate on improving the economy.

—ANNE BERNI in Montreal

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CANADIAN WIRELINE NEWS/ADVERTISING

Maclean's

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Maclean's first strike

The last-ditch efforts to avert the first strike in Maclean's 35-year history were in their eighth hour in the early morning of Wednesday, Oct. 5. Both sides had signalled their intent to make concessions. But shortly after 1 a.m. it was clear that, after a year, the talks had broken down. Ontario mediator Premier Keen took a telephone call from the Southern Ontario Newspaper Guild and relayed the message to the Magazine's bargaining committee. Said Keen: "We're finished."

The strike began at 10 a.m., when most of the 51 editorial employees at the Guild bargaining unit formed a picket line on the sidewalk in front of the company's new Toronto headquarters. Inside, 35 members of management worked as the current editors.

In its last public position, the Guild sought an overall salary increase of nine per cent, and the magazine proposed a package, including overtime for 20 members of the unit, averaging five per cent. The Guild insisted that any other news employees should be eligible to share overtime. On the issue of union security, the Guild said union membership should be compulsory for members of the magazine. Maclean's proposed that, while all non-management employees would be required to pay Guild dues, they should have the right to choose whether or not they would join the Guild.

The Guild requested most editorial employees in April, 1982. The two sides met regularly until last July and agreed to such contract provisions as a grievance procedure, benefit plans and the ground rules for editing stories. During negotiations talks under Keen the parties settled additional differences in early September but the magazine stood to end negotiations. That left the Guild in a position to go on strike legally any time after Sept. 30, and the Maclean's Guild staff voted 40 to 1 to authorize a strike.

As the magazine's press deadline approached late last week, there were no talks scheduled. But informal soundings continued between the two sides. "We are waiting to see what happens next," said Linda Torrey, the union's chief negotiator. Said Kitter Kevin Doyle: "I hope that people on both sides can step to their sense of reason, avoid personal conflict and make an agreement quickly that is in the best interests of the magazine." ☐



Supermarket soft-drink racks: 10 of 24 bottles reportedly exploded in flip tests

CONSUMERISM

Are pop bottles safe?

On Jan. 2, 1979, 8-year-old Matthew McNary walked into the kitchen of his Toronto home and accidentally knocked over a full 1.5-L Pepsi bottle. The bottle blew up in an explosion that cost the boy his left eye and Pepsi-Cola Canada Ltd. a hefty, long-term settlement. His attorney could also sue the Canadian soft drink industry as much as \$100 million to provide the public with a safer bottle.

The statistics are impressive: once a day, somewhere in Canada, someone is cut by glass from an exploding pop bottle, once a week someone goes to hospital as a result. On a world scale, exploding pop bottles are known to have killed three people—two in the United States, one in Israel. Last week, CNN-TV's science show "Maclean's" reported that although the Canadian industry has lessened the risks by coating its 1.5-L bottles with plastic, the more popular 350-ml, family-size bottles are still blowing up. And although soft-drink makers sell 300 million of these each year—accounting for 65 per cent of sales in refillable bottles—the glass containers still have no plastic coating to minimize the danger of explosion.

Maclean's reported that it lab-tested 34 family-size bottles by tipping them over on vinyl-covered surfaces; the materials used in western kitchen floors across Canada. Eighteen of them exploded. Said Maclean's producer Peter Kappeler: "Now I give the pop bottle class in supermarkets a wide berth."

The industry response was swift. The next day, Peter Draper, president-director of the Canadian Soft Drink Association, issued a statement saying that the industry regrets that the program "may

cause amplified public concern." According to the CSDA, it has cancelled two billion 750-ml refillable bottles over the past three years, and the federal department of consumer and corporate affairs has issued of just 20 explosive warnings enough to justify emergency involvement. However, records in the department's hazardous products branch show that between 1979 and 1980, CSDA reported 440 incidents involving soft drink bottles. Of these, 171 involved some injury, in 10 cases sufficient to require a hospital stay.

At the request of the McNary's lawyer, a University of Toronto chemical engineering professor, David Barham, carried out research in 1979 to discover why bottles can "blow out bang." He concluded that some bottles which were slightly damaged previously had a "hair trigger." Said Barham: "If tipped on a non-refillable surface, one out of two are going to explode." Barham said he presented his findings to both the CSDA and the hazardous products branch. "The CSDA didn't want to know me," he said, "and the government, in effect, told me 'Go away, it's not your problem.'" But Maclean's reported his research in 1980, and the government reissued 1.5-L bottles from some shelves until the pop industry public relations team.

Now Congress is discussing the 750-ml bottles with the minister of consumer and corporate affairs, Judy Davis. She told Maclean's: "We will have to act if there is a danger and remedial actions aren't taken." But when she thought the cameras were off, she added: "I don't understand why they can't be." The producers left the comment in ☐

The sheep in wolves' clothing

NEVER CRY WOLF

Directed by Carroll Ballard

The Canadian Arctic landscapes in Carroll Ballard's *Never Cry Wolf* from the acclaimed Purley Mount novel, are blindingly beautiful. The eye roams over them, basking in the exposure, appreciating details before they vanish. Ballard has a great narrator's voice (he made animal documentaries before *The Black Stallion*) and has some of wildlife that is inseparable in film. He is not as gifted in dealing with the human element. A loosely film that over rides its pacing. *Never Cry Wolf* is a frustrating mixture of earthly wonders, lush mysticism, dramatic deaths and sensitive stalling. And because it's virtually a one-actor movie, it needs a strong, charismatic hero for whom the audience can deeply care.

As the government researcher sent

With his light bulbs, beer and asparagus, Tyler is like a speck on the universe as day blends into Arctic night

north to find out how wolves feed themselves—specifically whether they are responsible for the diminishing caribou—Charles Martin becomes an actor, simply cannot forget, despite full-dress, his thoughts and feelings to the viewer. Hidden behind grumpy glasses, Smith (he is best known for his role in *American Graffiti*) nearly suggests interior life without revealing it. Under the north changes Tyler, the moment he lands in the area. The pilot (Brian Dennehy) who flies with him in an old crate explains that people to "civilization" are dying of boredom and it must have been Mowat's intention to show, through Tyler, that in the right environment, boredom can lead the way to wonder.

Left with his supplies—copious quantities of light bulbs, beer and canned asparagus—Tyler is like a speck on the universe as day slowly blends into the Arctic night. Ballard's shots of Tyler on the ice, as he types in the cold and wind, his monologue intoned, are examples of pure, visual storytelling. There is a helpful narration, but the film has only



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a sparse amount of dialogue, instead it gives itself over to textures and sensations. An old Inuit named Ouk (Gharby Dilmongon) reappears throughout, and as Tyler becomes closer to a family of wolves he begins to understand Ouk's mystical connection with the animals. Ouk communicates with the audience with his face—he needs nothing else—and if Smith had done the same, *Ballard* might have had a consistently brilliant film on his hands, which it is only for a while.

Tyler's dealings with a family of wolves is the core of *Never Cry Wolf*. He saves the parents George and Angelyne and watches them day and night, discovering that they eat mice, not caribou, to survive. (He begins, in a hilarious monologue, to eat them himself when his ration runs out.) Not only does Tyler begin to understand the wolves, he also admires and, soon, envies them. Wolves mate but once, for life, they howl when they are lonely, and they are consistently playful as can be. And the catch—well, there is no other way to say it—are the oddest things on four legs. *Ballard* of the *Arch* lens can keep their howls but *Ballard* never allows himself to get overly cute with his camera, and he does not sentimentalize the animals either. He is content to gaze upon them. In one of the funniest, most baffling sequences in the film both Tyler and George map out the boundaries of their territories by urinating on their borders.

Where *Never Cry Wolf* goes drastically wrong is toward the end of the film. *Ballard*, sensing dawn the following day, tries to, as it were, arrive in their airplane to mend the quiet and destroy the family of wolves. Dramatically it is too pat and *Ballard* carries it even farther with some surprising heavy-handedness. Even Ouk's nephew turns to the evil white man's ways. Arranging to finish with a rhetorical, quasi-spiritual set piece, the film shows Tyler running naked among a herd of caribou, trying to protect them from the wolves. Yet the wolves, according to Ouk, only attack diseased caribou, and so the sequence is unclear and confusing. Part of the problem in *Never Cry Wolf* is a script where fine behavior is wadded behind the imagery.

The imagery in *Never Cry Wolf* is glorious, primal and awesome. In creating an almost cosmic ball through the various cases of images—mysteriously making their way off—*Ballard* has no peer, except perhaps for the German director Werner Herzog but he has, apparently, divorced himself from mankind. After both *The Black Stallion* and *Never Cry Wolf* it is time for him to leave the wilderness and see the world outside, too. —LAURENCE O'TOOLE



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LABOR

A shaky hold on the rigs

The first Canadian union to gain a foothold on an offshore oil rig may be fighting a losing battle. In August, 16 cooks and stewards working for Top Catering and Management Ltd. obtained certification as members of the Seafarers International Union aboard the rig West Venture, drilling off Newfoundland. The victory was a hard-fought coup for the SIU, but it now seems that the union may have inadvertently undermined its own cause. Michael Oil Canada Ltd., the rig's operator, plans to let the rig's lease expire at the end of March, which would strip the union of its bridgehead to the offshore activities. Said Andrew Boyle, an SIU vice-president who spent two years organizing in Newfoundland for the union: "I agree it does not look good for the West Venture but it is a typical oilfield manoeuvre."

But the rig's Norwegian owner, A/S Seabed Drilling Co., said that the shutdown is not connected to the SIU. Company spokesman Stan Lewis said that Seabed knew three years ago, long before the union arrived, that Mobil would not renew the lease. Unless Seabed can find another Canadian charter for West Venture—and industry analysts say that is unlikely, given the lack of new exploration in the area—the rig is scheduled to leave for the North Sea next spring.

Without union members aboard, SIU organizers have no legal access to the rig. But Boyle vows that the union's drive will not suffer if the rig leaves Canadian waters; the union will start to organize all offshore workers. The SIU considers cooks and stewards, who do the housekeeping chores on the rigs, prime targets for union drives because they are the lowest-paid, least-unionized offshore workers. They work 28-hour shifts and share most of the risks but earn as much as \$20,000 a year, compared with a drilling worker's \$35,000.

For its part, the oil industry does not think that the SIU will have much success in the case of the West Venture; the employees sought out the union because they were earning only \$5.50 an hour. But the industry, stirred at the SIU's presence, has sent word to the returning companies that wage increases are a small price to pay to keep the union out. David Martens, manager for Norm Services Ltd., the largest catering company serving the offshore, said that several oil companies and rig owners voiced their concerns to him about the SIU. Martens distributed a general 20-

per-cent pay increase in March after the union started making overtures to his employees. But he denies that the union were a ploy to keep the union out. "Because of the West Venture experience, we encourage our employees away to taking a wait-and-see attitude," said Martens. Says one worker

from one of the other rigs, "I don't want to be named. 'Why do we need the SIU when our employer is treating us well?'"

While the oil industry has learned to live with Norwegian unions, it is not anxious to see the labor movement move onto Canadian rigs. The SIU remains undented. Said Boyle: "The workers know we are responsible for their union, and that will give us a foothold on other rigs." But while it plans for its next foothold, the SIU still faces some rough seas.

—RONNE WOODWORTH in St. John's

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PM0.05 (mg)	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
PM0.01 (mg)	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
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Japanese capsule hotel's built-in television, clock radio and smoking appliance

LIVING

Beehives with bedrooms

Over the past few decades a growing number of budget-conscious travellers have opted for less expensive accommodations, avoiding luxury hotels and checking into motels or campgrounds. Now, from Japan comes the newest competitor for the traveller's ear: dollar sleeping-capsule hotels. Instead of a room with a view, a customer will find a box that measures four feet wide, four feet high and seven feet long. The box will be stacked among other boxes like a beehive. Last month a group of Colorado investors announced that they would be building North America's first capsule hotel. In the expensive Vail ski resort area, where rooms can now cost \$115 per night, the capsule will rent for \$25. If the group is successful, it plans to establish capsule hotels across the continent. Said one of the entrepreneurs, Gary Higgins, "Capsules will appeal to people who are into backpacking or have travelled a lot and who see a hotel as just a place to sleep."

The hotel, which will open in September, 1984, will have 127 five-retardant Fiberglas compartments. The capsules will each contain a built-in television, clock radio and ventilation unit with the hotel duct. As well, they will have their own vacuum air circulation system, sprinkler and smoke detector. For privacy, a customer will draw a heavy plastic shade over the entrance to his sleeping box. Said Higgins, "We plan to have bar table, a reception area—all the

amenities. The capsules will be stacked on top of each other like bunk beds, and we can control privacy by having them and to front. There will be separate sections for men and women, and some of the capsules will be seven feet wide — for couples."

New Japan, the original company that started the trend, which now owns eight capsule hotels, used Higgins to represent the Japanese firm in North America. Said Higgins, "I found them very comfortable. Many are for commuters, located near train stations or airports, and have ancillary services, restaurants—all for \$6 a night."

In the future the Colorado company is planning a series of capsule hotels "like capsule Club Med," said Higgins, in resort areas. Some US campground owners, who see capsules as an inexpensive adjunct to existing tent and trailer services, have shown interest. Higgins also hopes to see major chains introducing "capsule areas" in established hotels. Already, a large engineering firm in Saudi Arabia wants to build capsule hotels for travellers making the pilgrimage to the Islamic holy places of Mecca and Medina. And the US Army is considering using capsules on mobile army barracks. Still, Higgins knows that capsules are not for everyone. Said he "Those who have made it will still visit the two bedrooms and the last tub." — MARGARET DANNON in Toronto.

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FOR THE RECORD

Changes of direction

A LITTLE GOOD NEWS
Anita Murray
(Capitol)

The new wave graphics and synthetisms on *A Little Good News* may appear to be a conservative star's transparent bid for a more modern image. But in more important respects, Anita Murray really is intent on a breakthrough. She kicks off the album with *That's Not the Way It's Supposed to Be*, a dance tune that features not only electronic instruments but also a dark and impassioned mood. Moreover, the title song reveals that she is more concerned with topical reality (like bad economy, polluted air, the war in Lebanon) than she has been since her early days singing folk songs. Even on the slow ballads, such as *Sentimental Moments*, which have become her stock and trade, she injects a confidence that has been previously absent but never before so pronounced. Murray is not only "a lady with a plan" as she sings on *Just Another Woman in Love*, she is a remarkably confident and gifted singer.

WHAT'S NEW
Linda Ronstadt and the
Nelson Riddle Orchestra
(RCA)

In recent years Linda Ronstadt has jumped ahead the musical map, demonstrating her skills in light opera and hard rock. Now she has ventured into Frank Sinatra territory. For her occasion into the golden age of American popular song, she has even enlisted the accompaniment of Nelson Riddle, whose symphonic big-band sensibility backed Sinatra, Peggy Lee and others of their kind. At times the results are no more than an efficient and sentimental exercise in authenticity. What'll I Do, for example, is a schmaltzy Irving Berlin song which does not deserve revival. Still, there are other tunes on which Ronstadt simply shines. *Good-Bye*, a Gordon Jenkins song that Benny Goodman used as a closing theme, is particularly well suited to Ronstadt's laconic brood of melancholy. And her innocent nostalgia, whether of her string quartet, *Good-Bye*, or her string quartet, *Good-Bye*, is itself reason enough to pardon the album's occasional misfire. —DAVID LIVINGSTON

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BOOKS

A closet full of snakes

IN THE SHADOW OF THE WIND
By Anne Hilbert
Translated by Sheila Fischman
(Grounds, 256 pages, \$15.95)

Men and women set out in Anne Hilbert's novels to oppress, seduce and murder each other, eternal snakes which the repression of small-town Quebec society and the control of the Roman Catholic Church bring to outrageous war. Frustrated and perverse passions burst through shrouds of shattering mystery, leaving the reader no alternative but to scream and try to duck the blows Hilbert's new novel, *In the Shadow of the Wind*, which won France's 1991 Prix Femina, poses only one exception to the pattern formed by *The Tervet*, *The Silent Ancestress*, *Kamoussou* and *Children of the Black Sabbath*. The people of Griffin Creek, an imaginary settlement on the St. Lawrence describe somewhere between Quebec City and the woods, are not French Catholics but English-speaking descendants of United Empire Loyalists, granted land in Quebec by a grateful British Crown. Locked in place by windmyst landscape and history, the four Loyalist families of Griffin Creek become incestuous, intermarried in blood since 1763, a tiny isolated tree in a French forest.

Hilbert is expert at creating the driven, veiled of repressed passion. The first one to speak in *In the Shadow of the Wind* is the latter Rev. Nicholas Jones, who smokes pipe after pipe through a cold winter night in 1898, caught in nightmare massacre of Griffin Creek's tragedy the manipulation and murder of his two beautiful nieces in the summer of 1888. Jones himself had held out greedy hands to the adolescent bast of Nana and Olivia, not yet lecher into their adult female roles and radiating passion. He views himself as a man destroyed by reproductive failure. His own wife was barren, and his religion prevented him from trying in the "unnatural creature." "The sleep against me in the bed like a dead fish, her excitement as quiet as a fish, her fish eye under the lid without looking..." His passion for his red-headed niece, Nana, became so obvious in the summer of

1888 that his steel wife, Irene, removed herself from the picture, hanging herself in the woodshed. Jones justifies himself: he was only reaching out for life. He did not expect death instead.

But that is the crucial theme of the novel and, in fact, of Hilbert's work. Dealing with sex, war, death, love, evil, evil—results in three deaths or the death-in-life of conformity and repression. Four more voices tell the novel's story: the two nieces, one from her father's grave, the novel's first account who senses for endless days about her life.



Hilbert: driven voices of repressed passion

ties others do not even notice; and handsome Stevena Brown, a poetical and sensitive son of Griffin Creek who returned home to punish women. The cycle is unbroken. The fathers are violent, pillaging, abusive. The mothers' only power is in withholding love. The green male child's revenge is to use sex as a weapon against women, as do Brown and Jones.

In *the Shadow of the Wind* is as powerful as *Kamoussou*, sparkling in its psychological implications. Hilbert's Quebec Gothic sensibility is at full force, showing naturally through the medium of Sheila Fischman's translation. Reading it feels like being locked in a closet full of poisonous snakes.

—ANNE COLLINS



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The woman is not for taming

Anne Hilbert's apartment is as deceptively as its tenant. Tucked on a backwater of Paris's Boulevard Saint-Germain, it bears no traces of literary celebrity. No smoke stains on the crisp, answering white walls. Sherry leather upholstery and chrome punctuate the impression of a benign and sunny interior. But beyond the first-floor window a secret garden casts uncertain shadows. There, a head of state strolls through the undergrowth, a sudden rustle among the leaves explodes into a bloodied plumage. As a backdrop, it seems tailor-made for Hilbert, the reluctant grande dame of French-Canadian literature. Curling into a chair with an adolescent's grace, she is the essence of fragility: a woman whose delicate beauty belies her 47 years and whose overpowering silence has made the possibility of the past year since she won the prestigious Prix Femina award an exercise in agony. Yet to read her spare, elegant prose is to plunge into a dark netherworld of Quebec Gothic.

With fine novels, three volumes of poetry and one play, Hilbert has conjured up the neglected pleasures of writing just below the sanctimonious veneer of a pious society cut off from its cultural roots and stifled by the Roman Catholic Church's medieval grasp. In her most recent novel, *In the Shadow of the Wind*, released this month in English, Hilbert has once again done a quick sketch of an incandescent microcosm where the savage natural geography mirrors the aridened terrain of the human heart. Reviewers have hailed the book as a tour de force rivaling *Kurosawa*, her prize-winning 1980 novel of a woman's bloody 19th-century revolt. *In the Shadow of the Wind* has not only garnered the Prix Femina—France's second most important literary prize next to the Prix Goncourt, for which the book was also a final contender—but has sold 150,000 copies, with 500,000 more through book club orders. And Hilbert is currently writing the first draft of the screen version, which Quebec director Francis Marbeuf (Les bonshommes) plans to shoot in the Gaspé next summer.

Ties to the book's success, Hilbert no longer has to contemplate going up her modest apartment. But the woman has also forced her through a year of publicity which has wrought havoc with her nerves and prompted the recurring question: how does the gentle creature whose critics have hailed as Quebec's most distinguished writer come by such a violent voice? "It must be something I can't express in life," she said, "be-

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Conversations with the past

MY OWN YEARS
By Barry Broadfoot
(Doubleday, 280 pages, \$22.95)

When Barry Broadfoot's editor demanded that he write a preface for *My Own Years*, the writer asked her why it was necessary. "Because," she replied, "readers want to know why the author has written the book." In the resulting preface Broadfoot, author of five books of social history, adds that while he was writing the new book, many of his fans asked "What's your next book about?" Both these queries are reasonable ones on the part of readers. Unfortunately, Broadfoot's practice of omniscience and oral history fails to provide the answers.

My Own Years as a curious, self-indulgent book that only the combined effort of landing and a cover held together. Broadfoot has given the reader some interesting glimpses on his youth in the 1930s and 1940s, interspersed with anecdotes and more recent conversations in the style of oral history with a variety of drivers, prostitutes, fishermen and moonshiners. On their own, these chapters could make magazine pieces of the "My Most Unforgettable Character" sort. But together,

almost randomly arranged, they simply suggest confusion of purpose.

Still, Broadfoot can write well and clearly, and he continues to display a journalist's knack for making strangers talk freely. He gives a lift to an attractive woman who turns out to be a high-class prostitute (and a Broadfoot fan). She is completely open about her work, her clients and romances. "The difference between a lady and a tramp," Broadfoot quotes her in a re-created conversation, "is that as many of these ladies don't know they are tramps, but the tramp knows she is not a lady."

That may be true, but when he promotes the trip to be a "significant contribution to our folklore," he greatly overstates its importance. When he meets a well-off, retired mechanic in a bar, the encounter leads Broadfoot to raminate on the effects of isolation, which he calls a "strange process going on in the small and distant villages and towns that are but dots on the map. Okay, if you want a word I would call it 'braindrain'... and often it is a palpable thing." That remark will not help sales as the Prairie.

Broadfoot's reminiscence of his time as a Second World War veteran at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg is

more revealing. That account, almost unique in Canadian literature, sensitively explores Broadfoot's feelings about going back to school after infantry service, his thoughts about courses, classes and professors, and his agonies about student politics, student newspapers and those students—the sons of the rich, he thinks—who stayed at school while their poorer friends went to war. The chapter, as well as one about his experience as a child volunteering in rented shacks near Winnipeg in the 1930s, works because Broadfoot describes his own reactions.

But a few good chapters do not make a book. Broadfoot's *Our War Years*, *The Lost Years*, *The Pioneer Years*, and *Years of Service*, *Years of Shame* were enormously popular successes, even if the historians complained about his oral history methods. These books dealt with grand themes and they deliberately gave ordinary people a place in the history of their times. *My Own Years*, however, conveys the impression that Broadfoot himself wants a place in history, but without doing the grueling job of organization, research and self-analysis that good autobiography demands. The result is ultimately unconvincing, even confusing. All the reader can do is ask Broadfoot with bewilderment, "What is this book about?"

—J.L. GRANATYEN



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Nostalgia mixed with bawdiness

YOU CAN'T PRINT THAT!

By Charles Lynch
(Harris, 256 pages, \$26.95)

Charles Lynch, political columnist for the *Southam News Service*, is a senior member of the Parliamentary Press Gallery. The 63-year-old journalist has been on the Hill almost as long as Stanley Knowles. Readers expecting his columns to be full of inside information about the past two generations of Ottawa figures will not be disappointed. But more important, Lynch is writing a newspaperman's memoir, a sadly absent form that combines nostalgia with bawdiness to provide a rough-awn charm.

At 16, Lynch started working for the *Sanit Janitor*, one of the papers that the even then mysterious K.C. Irving owned; three years later, in 1938, Lynch joined the *Hillstar Herald*, where he quickly rose to a hotel fire-wireman's position and the offer of a better job from *The Canadian Press*. From that time on he was a wire-service man with the old British United Press, Reuters and later the *Southam* service, spending time not only in Canada but



Lynch: a reporter's roughness charm

long periods in Brazil and the United States.

It was for *Reuters* that Lynch covered the Second World War, which he writes about with eloquence. Although he had "never heard a shot fired in anger in a practice," he soon found himself

working alongside famous correspondents such as Matthew Halton. He covered the Normandy invasion, trying to send dispatches by carrier pigeons, which were supposed to cross the Channel to England but instead usually fell toward Germany. Lynch was able to observe Ernest Hemingway under full sail, and at one point was unaccountably detained in a French bordello. Still, the war chapters are more than just stories suitable for retelling at the press club. Lynch seems to feel remorse about the way correspondents were used for propaganda purposes, with the emphasis on filing stories with "top-ops" (official falsehoods). And there is a chilling melancholy in some of his descriptions.

In the war reminiscences and elsewhere, *You Can't Print That* encompasses many diverse personalities, particularly those of his early mentors in the *Maritime*. No figure stands out more than John Dieffenbaker, whom Lynch found lovable but "indifferent, suspicious, malicious, enervating, malcontent, narrow-minded, self-righteous, malicious, arrogant, resentful, had impetuous, mean, plain, cunning and cantankerous, and a temper with teeth." Lynch goes on to prove many of these qualities by illustration, such as when Dieffenbaker accused Lynch of being a U.S. spy or when he found the Prime Minister "only too eager to con-

duct an interview in the nude. His final assessment: "Dieffenbaker left no little in the way of political achievements, and his leadership was so disruptive of the nation's affairs and those of his own party, that I cannot come after much longer if such a man could ever have existed and what the fate was about."

Implicit in such remarks is Lynch's conviction that Canada has deteriorated politically since Dieffenbaker's time. As if to prove the point, the book itself starts falling off after the chronology reaches 1960, becoming a string of more pen sketches and mini-essays, with some barbs about fishing and critics of the Liberals. Even the press issues in 1989, Lynch's memory about the decline of the British Convention and the further rise of a bureaucratically minded government at odds with individuals and individualism is obvious. Toward the end the reality of the present seems to sour the author even on his own colleagues. "I have valued the company of fellow journalists," he writes, "but have never looked to them for anything but scorn and abuse of my writings or my conduct." Still, such finger-pointing cannot mar the vivid and reflective narrative that is the first half of the book and that constitutes a valuable document in the history of journalism and public life in the 1940s and 1950s.

—DORIS PERLMAN



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MAY 1992			

NACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 *Poison, Mosher* (3)
- 2 *The Name of the Rose, Eco* (3)
- 3 *The Little Drummer Girl, Gervais* (3)
- 4 *Hollywood Wives, Collins* (3)
- 5 *The Selection of Peter R., Bend Sin* (3)
- 6 *A Time For Justice, Colquhoun* (3)
- 7 *Chet's Day, King* (3)
- 8 *Chang, Reed*
- 9 *White Gold, Whitaker, Goodwin* (3)
- 10 *Sisters of the Jedi, (3)*

Nonfiction

- 1 *In Search of Excellence, Peters and Waterman Jr.* (3)
- 2 *Napoleonic, Natchez* (3)
- 3 *The Best of James Beckett, Alcott* (3)
- 4 *The Price of Power, Nevill* (3)
- 5 *Charles and Diana Visit Canada, Hall* (3)
- 6 *The Last Days, McArthur* (3)
- 7 *On Wings of Eagles, Follen* (3)
- 8 *Out On a Limb, MacLennan* (3)
- 9 *Outrageous Acts and Everyday Rebellions, Stewart* (3)
- 10 *Just Friends' Worst-Case Book, Follen* (3)

(3) Position last week

Kahlúa

Braise. Glaze. Praise.

Kahlúa Chicken

Spit-roast 4 chickens with 1/2 c. onion salt and brown in 1 T. butter. Combine 1/2 c. Kahlúa, 1/2 c. orange juice, 1/2 c. lemon juice, 1/2 c. melted butter, and pour over chicken in skillet. Cover and simmer 30-40 min. Thicken sauce if desired by combining 2 T. corn starch with 1/2 c. water and stirring into pan. Serves 4.

Kahlúa Glazed Pecan Pie

Substitute 1/2 c. Kahlúa for 1/2 c. corn syrup in your favourite pecan pie recipe and bake as per the instructions. Top each pie with fresh cranberry 2 T. each Kahlúa and apricot jam. Baked 1 minute. Cool before serving.



Kahlúa, The International Liqueur.

For more delicious Kahlúa recipes visit our website: Kahlua.com. K.C. Toronto, N.Y., Canada, Ontario, Mexico (21)



The New Car.

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Now the Civic shifts to the needs of today. Economy is still a benchmark. Road performance is a standard. And comfort is a

result of careful planning. The radical design changes of the Civic have occurred because we have carefully analyzed what people have said they expect from a car today and in the future.

The performance spirit of the new Civic line is best captured with the CRX 1.5 Coupe. A new concept that's styled for the city and engineered for the open road. It is sophisticated enough to perform like a sports car yet not arrogant enough to be priced like one. The CRX has full instrumentation and a responsive 5-speed manual transmission to unleash the

1.5 litre, 12 valve engine. It is quick. Very quick.

The new Civic Sedan is where luxury resides. The passenger cabin has grown to an unprecedented level of comfort for a small car. More rear leg room, more head room surrounded by the same degree of quality appointments for which Honda is renowned. The Civic Sedan is family luxury with family economy.

The completely redesigned Civic Hatchback is a demonstration of how to make a good thing better. The styling is innovative without losing sight of its need to be functional. With reclining rear seats, you can turn the rear of the Hatchback into a substantial cargo container. Seats up and you have touring comfort. There is but one thing that will remind you

that in spite of its physical changes, this is still a Civic: outstanding fuel economy.

The ultimate example of a new car that will redefine family transportation can be found in the all new Civic Wagon. Your first impression upon viewing the passenger compartment will be one of disbelief. If you've ever ridden in a limousine, you'll have cause to compare. The rear seating can be arranged in 10 different configurations. It is a car designed to move you across town or across country in comfort. And have you arrive in style.

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 To allow even one drop of



BLEND
 SARK
 CATTY

ENERGY

Wind power in the West

Thirteen stories high, the huge blue-and-yellow wind turbines boom over a northeast Calgary industrial area like a giant sunflower. With its delta-winged vanes measuring 22 feet in diameter, it is a prototype of a rapidly advancing technology that could give an ancient energy form a new, space-age allure. As it is, the mammoth wind-powered Calgary generator marks the traditional style of windmills in Canada that are about 30 feet tall. Yet it is just the first step in Alcoa Energy Services' wind-power development program. Still on the company's drawing boards are plans for wind turbines with diameters of as much as 100 feet. The plan is to exploit the area as a market for cheaper energy. And with minimal maintenance requirements and a life expectancy of several decades, wind turbines, says Alcoa President Ian MacGregor, "would guarantee energy costs 20 years into the future."

But while the appeal of windmills has recently been in their ability to produce energy for irrigation or other uses at relatively low cost, Alcoa is aiming for a much larger market. It is currently negotiating to sell power to Alberta's two utilities—TransAlta and Alberta Power—and it created the 60-foot-diameter turbine to help convince them some portion of the value of wind turbines. Both utilities have agreed to the principle of buying power from outside generators, but rates must still be determined. If Alcoa reaches agreement with the utilities, it intends to establish Alberta's first "wind farm"—a series of five 100-foot-diameter machines working in tandem on an 80-acre site to produce an output of one megawatt, enough to power 1,000 homes.

Similar projects have sprung up in the United States since the 1978 federal Public Utilities Policy Reorganization Act, which encouraged utilities to buy power from nonutility generating facilities. That created what one U.S. trade magazine, *Wind Power Digest*, called "a gold rush atmosphere for wind energy speculation," and wind farms are operating from New Hampshire to Hawaii. The Americans are now "10 years ahead of



MacGregor with prototype: new, space-age allure

us," said MacGregor, who estimates that California alone has more than 200 wind turbines in operation.

But Canadian interest is growing, and both the federal and provincial governments have been involved in feasibility tests for wind turbines at the Atlantic Wind Test Site in Prince Edward Island and at Hall Beach, N.W.T., among other places. Now Alcoa, in addition to negotiating with the two utilities, hopes to attract Alberta Power's parent, Canadian Utilities, as a partner in the business of manufacturing, installing and owning wind turbines.

Alcoa launched its \$4-million wind-turbine development program in the late 1970s. Whether or not, in the midst of the current energy crisis, there is still a market for wind generators that will cost from \$250,000 to \$3 million, remains to be seen. But as he looks at the ever-increasing cost estimates for frontier oil and gas supplies and the stalled megaprojects, MacGregor remains confident.

—STANLEY ZWERNEN in Calgary

ARRIVE



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Rethinking kindergarten

By Ann Walmsley

When Dianne Kasveton chose not to send her five-year-old son, Andrew, to a kindergarten near their home in Victoria, B.C., last month, it was partly because the highly structured program included teaching children how to read. Kasveton believes that imposing formal skills on children when they are too young can damage their ability to learn. Many child psychologists and educators now share that view and warn that Canadian kindergartens must place less emphasis on the desk work, testing and drills that became popular in the 1960s and 1970s. Otherwise, the crucial kindergarten year could establish a lifetime pattern of failure.

Andrew Kasveton now travels his kindergarten every day to a play-oriented kindergarten class at another school. Said his mother: "The problem is too much too soon. If he feels pushed when he is 5, he is not going to enjoy school." Kasveton's move, however, is at odds with a growing trend by some parents to encourage their preschool children to be early academic achievers—superkids. Said Otto Weisinger, a professor of applied psychology and chairman of the early childhood program at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, "Parents, in their zeal to have their children acquire skills, have been sold an erroneous bill of goods." Many experts now oppose kindergarten teaching that includes pressure to achieve and the subsequent possibility of failure. They blame on traditional parents who want to give their children a head start in education for exerting pressure on school boards. According to Margie Mayfield, a University of Victoria professor of early childhood education who chaired a 1981 B.C. government study on kindergarten trends, the concern is greatest from parents who watched their children play all through preschool and are anxious for academic progress. Indeed, there are now a growing number of private pre-kindergarten across Canada that specialize in reading, drills and French-language training for children as young as 3, and many parents report that their children thrive in these classrooms. "We are feeling the superhigh push," confirmed Diana Tomlinson, executive assistant of the Federation of Ontario Teachers' Association of Ontario. "Parents are telling teachers, 'I want to see paperwork and homework.'"

Mayfield contends that kindergarten teachers must now educate not only children but also parents who are confused about the notion of learning through play. In British Columbia a new draft kindergarten curriculum recommends ways in which parents can

take part in a proposed play-oriented program. The curriculum, which is based on Mayfield's report and is now awaiting ministerial approval, recommends that teachers use photographs, tape recordings and videotapes of children at play to demonstrate to parents that learning takes place.

Research studies dating back to 1959 document the potential for damage. But studies such as the 1975 book *Better Late Than Early* by Michigan educators Raymond and Dorothy Moore doubt the most dramatic findings. The Moors

suggest that harm to children's visual and auditory systems can result from premature reading and arithmetic work. And, according to Andrew Blumenthal, a child psychologist at the University of Toronto's Institute of Child Study, children are not biologically ready to acquire the kind of pencil and paper work that may be assigned in kindergarten which often wasted down Grade 1 programs. A hard-hitting Ontario government task force report prepared for the ministry of education last January said that standardized tests

and prepackaged programs offered by some provincial school boards are not only "aggressive and restrictive" but "potentially harmful to young children." The report also warned that some teachers subject children to tests on color identification, language development and numerical knowledge before they feel secure in the school environment. According to Weisinger, a sense of security and a desire to learn are the keys to a child's ability to make use of information. He claims that positive teaching kindergartens children how

to read gives them so many instructions at once. The children tend to remember only the first and last steps and feel that they have failed. And inappropriate learning methods suggest he continued later, according to Chicago-based U.S. educator Benjamin Bloom. He contends that children can develop 80 per cent of their mature intelligence by the age of 5.

The idea of learning through play is not new. Friedrich Froebel, an early-19th-century German educator, praised play as the highest phase of human development in childhood, while the influential Italian educator Maria Montessori outlined the concept in her child-centred schools in the first decade of this century. Today, most educators accept the idea that children engage in different levels of trial play which correspond to different stages of intellectual growth. Said John Moffatt, an education consultant for the Alberta ministry of education's early childhood services: "When neurological pathways are not grown, then learning through the screen and the opportunity to talk about what is happening is more natural."

Educators stress, however, that play-oriented learning is not a license for uncontrolled play and that kindergarten teachers are not being asked to be babysitters. Otto Weisinger, for one, said that his classrooms operate along a distinct "play curriculum" in which play projects pose problems and lead to specific goals. Teachers who have studied techniques of early childhood education are in short supply in some provinces. Only Alberta and Quebec demand that kindergarten teachers obtain B.C. diplomas before they can accept a teaching position. A 1983 study by the Manitoba Teachers' Society found that half of all kindergarten teachers in the province lacked early childhood training and that nearly half of all elementary school principals had taken no academic courses relating to early childhood education. In Ontario teacher surpluses caused by declining enrolments have aggravated the problem. According to the ministry's study, teachers with seniority—often with only high school teaching experience—frequently bump more highly qualified B.C. teachers from kindergarten posts.

Even worse, according to British Columbia's Mayfield, increasing provincial education cutbacks may jeopardize kindergarten reforms. When applying cutbacks last year, school trustees in some areas of British Columbia suggested that kindergartens should be eliminated altogether. With pressure on kindergartens from all sides, Mayfield argues that now, more than ever, "we have to become advocates for children." Especially for those at the threshold of the educational system. ☐



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THE RICH RUM FLAVOUR OF JAMAICA

ENVIRONMENT

A dangerous pesticide faces its ban

The chemical known as ethylene dibromide, or EDB, has been registered as a pesticide in the United States since 1948. Its relatively low cost as well as its potency against a variety of bugs have earned it widespread acceptance among grain handlers and fruit growers, particularly in the southern states. But the U.S. National Cancer Institute has also been interested in EDB. As long ago as 1970 the organization warned that laboratory tests had established that EDB was a potent carcinogen. Two years later the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) said it was in favor of banning some uses of EDB. But the chemical in-

dustrial use of EDB still had not been done enough, because appears by the chemical industry could keep the pesticide in use for years. "We are very disappointed that the chemical is not being totally banned," said Robert Willis, a spokesman for the American Federation of Grain Millers. "We have members that have almost been tarred into vegetables because of it." Willis said the major companies that have contracts with his union agreed recently to stop using EDB on a voluntary basis. "But it is still in use in other places," he added. The gasoline industry is by far the biggest consumer of EDB, which it puts in added gas to keep engines clear of

California and Hawaii. It is also in flour, bread and other baked goods in many states. EDB is not used in Canada as a soil fumigant but it is used to protect stored grain. An Agriculture Canada official said the department is reviewing 15 fumigants, including EDB, and a decision on their future use will be announced before the end of the year.

The new EPA orders put an immediate and total ban on EDB as a soil fumigant, which should stop any more of it getting into the ground water. The agency also gave 30 days notice that it plans to ban EDB use in flour mills and as a means of fumigating stored grain. But chemical industry groups could delay that ban at least as long as two years. Besides, fruit growers may still use the stocks they have on hand to kill fruit flies until next September.

EPA officials explained the delay in introducing measures against EDB by saying it took time for the new Reagan administration to catch up on the issue after it assumed office in 1980. The chemical industry was convinced again and the EPA proposals had to be reworked, said agency spokesman Albert Riser. "Anyway, we are acting now," he said. Most of the delays were due to review orders that the Reagan administration appoints an assistant EPA administrator for pesticides and toxic substances, John Toddington, ordered. But Toddington resigned last March and at a congressional hearing last month he denied a suggestion that he had held illegal meetings with members of the chemical industry. He also denied a charge that he had illegally destroyed his office calendar for that period, or that he had improperly stalled for more than a year on an EDB ban.

In May Friedman, co-director of the Washington-based National Coalition Against the Abuse of Pesticides, the EDB case graphically illustrates the power of the U.S. chemical industry. For one thing, he said, only those who suffer "economic impact" from EPA decisions can challenge them. As a result, EDB makers who are exposed to EDB cannot argue that last week's ruling does not go far enough, but the chemical industry and farmers and others who use EDB can argue that it goes too far. "One day this country is going to find that it cannot drink any of the water and we will have to live on bottled water," said Friedman. "But where in the bottled water going to come from?"

—WILLIAM LOWTHER
in Washington



Helicopter spraying crops, warnings since 1975 that EDB is a potent carcinogen.

destry contained that there was no proof that EDB had an adverse effect on people or the environment, and it continued to produce the chemical at a rate of 300 million pounds a year. But the EPA finally ended its indecision last week, announcing an immediate ban on the use of EDB in some agricultural fumigants and phased-in withdrawals in other areas.

But for many experts the orders seem far too late. David Adams, Grows, an EPA veterinary pathologist in charge of assessing the dangers of EDB, "I fully believe that anyone who works with EDB over an extended period is certain to develop cancer. It should have been totally banned years ago." Other critics

lead deposits. EPA tests so far indicate that such a use poses no health hazards, and the new EPA rulings do not affect it. But between them, farmers and grain handlers use 20 million pounds of EDB a year to kill bugs. Fruit growers use millions of pounds in fumigating fields in the southern states before planting fragile citrus and tropical fruit trees. They also spray it from airplanes to combat the deadly Mediterranean fruit fly. Fruit millers spray it on milling machinery and around grain storage warehouses to keep them insect-free. As a result of all these uses, EDB is now turning up in the water table—and in measurable quantities in the drinking water—in parts of Florida, Georgia,



The Pope in Spain last year: abortion, education and church law were at issue.

RELIGION

Socialism and the church

According to an old Spanish saying, "One half of Spain runs after the church, carrying it, and the other half runs after it, carrying a stick." What it points to is the generally accepted fact that socialism as it is deeply rooted in Spain as the Roman Catholic faith. Roughly 95 per cent of Spaniards are baptized into the church, get many will readily voice indignation of its influence and wealth. But those who carry the stick in the rapidly changing socialist Spain of 1989 are shaping up for a confrontation with those carrying the sticks. Among the key issues are abortion, education and church finances, and they are about to erupt in the Spanish parliament, the Cortes.

Reflecting religious opinion, right-wing opposition parties have tabled more than 100 amendments to new legislation which, while modernizing Spain's inefficient education system, would curb Catholic influence in schooling. Carmen Alvar, leader of a national Catholic parents' association, believes that the government of reform-minded Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez is trying to "cut the papular of private education." Former education minister José Mariel Gore has compared the law to "the Soviet invasion of Poland." About a third of Spain's 6.8 million pupils attend Catholic primary and secondary schools which receive state subsidies (the church also runs four universities). The new legislation would free teachers from pressure to follow the faith of a particular institution. The state would pay salaries directly to teachers, and parents and teachers would control ap-

pointments. Churchmen strongly oppose the changes, which they maintain would threaten the constitutional right of freedom of education.

Even more controversial is new legislation which would permit abortions, although only if pregnancy was due to rape, or if the fetus was malformed. The law is a response to a 1985 survey in which 30,000 Spanish women went to Britain for abortions, while hundreds of thousands of others resorted to backstreet practitioners. A recent survey in Spain found that 74 per cent of respondents favored abortion in special cases. But the issue is a highly emotional one and the right-to-life campaign is still reaping the benefits of Pope John Paul II's carefully orchestrated journey to Spain a year ago. In front of massive crowds, he declared, "The death of the innocent can never be legitimized. This would undermine the very foundation of society itself."

Since the days of the Inquisition, when the Catholic church brutally consolidated its power in the 15th and 16th centuries, Spaniards generally have identified it with power and privilege, and often with anti-intellectualism. Burnings of churches and murders of

clergy in the 1930s stemmed from a widespread hatred among the desperately poor of corrupt priests. Church privilege was reinforced during the regime of the dictator Gen. Francisco Franco, but things have altered sharply since his death in 1975. In fact, Spain was already changing considerably as it moved over the last three decades from being a largely rural, immobile society into a consumer-oriented industrial nation. Conflicts between two such powerful institutions as the church and state were inevitable in such a situation.

Since Franco's time, his successors have written a new constitution, under which Catholics ceased to be the state religion, and in 1979 they forged accords with the Vatican which formalized church-state relations. An important element of the new relationship concerns state subsidies to the church which this year amounted to \$74 million (U.S.). Much of it went to Catholic schools and toward the basic salary of \$380 a month which each of Spain's 30,000 priests receives. But the government is still trying to work out a new system to let individuals decide whether part of their income tax should go to a specific religious group.

The socialists want to avoid divisive conflicts with the church, but Catholics themselves no longer speak with one voice in Spain. Traditionalist priests exert a rigid control over their flocks, while casually dressed younger ones openly proclaim their leftist allegiances and make political statements from the pulpit. Scores of Spanish priests have abandoned the cloth in order to marry.

In the fervently Catholic Basque country, several priests have joined the ranks of ETA, the Marxist-inspired, often violent, separatist movement. One village priest has been arrested for allegedly helping ETA bomb a Madrid telephone exchange. At the same time, some reactionary priests have found a home in the armed forces, where church and fatherland are still linked in a mystic style. The church in fact has many bastions in Spain, including the

90,000 men and women in religious orders in a nation of 28 million, the socialist government won 50 million votes in last year's election. But in an open conflict with the church, it is not possible to predict how many of those would be carrying candles and how many sticks.

—DAVID BAIRD
in Madrid



Gonzalez anticlericalism

VOLKSWAGEN

(pö'ple wäg'ən) When your name, loosely translated, means "people wagon", it just stands to reason that you engineer cars for people. Not incredibly wealthy people who can afford anything. Ordinary people, who care more about style than content. But cars for people people. Cars that people can afford to buy. And afford to run. Cars that people can enjoy for years and years. Cars that are fun to drive. Cars that are designed to keep people safe and comfortable.

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When the natives surrender

By Allan Fotheringham

I have been going, you see, to the island for some 30 years. It supplies the annual brain transplant (heavily needed, as faithful readers will testify). The word is another than Brian Mulroney's voice. The sun rises and heats. The sun goes down at 6:02, transforming the sky into a mass of pink nebula that hypnotizes and reduces one to helpless little masses of impotence. The body goes down to the pillow at 6:06 p.m., rising sharply at 11:00 a.m. It is children's hours for the soul, a serene cure, washing away thoughts of Bill Bennett's humanity, Pierre Trudeau's humanity, Mark Macdonald's charisma, Eugene Whelan's eloquence, Robert Bourassa's reversionism. The first act, on arrival on the island, is the removal of one's watch and one's shoes. They are stored away, unused until it is time reluctantly to seek out the great silver bird and return to distasteful reality.

The yearly visitor to the island becomes, of course, an expert, his brief glimpses at intervals revealing trends and developments in the evolving of the island not so easily apparent to the visitors. Some years back, your diligent pursuit of the real life, ahead of its time and ahead, warding a warning. Trouble could be spun ahead in paradise. There is a certain inescapable effect when the privileged portion of the world finds a pleasant spot to acquire the most desirable attributes in North America—two, in fact, at the spot, grateful for the money at first, have to serve the visitors. Each year, the diligent pursuer found more waitresses, more taxi drivers, more bartenders, more beach boys. You can't turn the entire population of an island into waitresses, waitresses and taxi guides. I agreed, without breaching commitment and utterance and essential goodwill.

This was considered troublesome bony at the time, harmful mischief that would hurt the tourist trade and be offensive to the travel industry. I thought, myself, that it was quite precise, made in concept and, an asset. Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.

far ahead of its time. No one paid any attention to the column, except those who accused your agent of being a do-little do-nothing, my own title.

In time, the island's problems began to take shape and form. At each visit, the creeping disease of colonialism marched resolutely onward as it blot out the sunset. Their opened the moon-like shape the pineapple and sugar cane fields were ripped out, the rich red soil turned growing corn and golf courses. The cause of the electric golf cart was upon the land.

As so wisely predicted, the resent-

There seemed no motive, but there was—the just up resentment of the natives against the white visitors who, if only penny-patching waiters, represented affluence that would be forever foreign (and grateful).

As the colonies marched through the pineapple fields, the Transmitters and the other big ones moved in on the island, finding eager replacements. As the native workers awaited their gay demise and the strike syndrome hit paradise, the big auditions did what they always do—work cheaper labor. The pineapple and sugar companies suddenly found that they were developing new fields on other, less evolved, islands further across the ocean. The colonies marched on, ever higher on the mountains, ever thicker on the beaches, more and more pineapple workers and sugar cane laborers being turned into cocktail waitresses and taxi drivers. The publicity about the violence in paradise—greatly headlined because of its shock value—assured the tourists dollars to fall off.

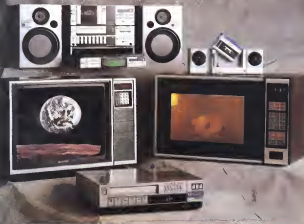
On this visit, the crucifixion being soaked by the sea and bathed by the lapped sea, one notices the change. The waitresses in gone. The mindless violence against island waitresses has disappeared. The newspaper is upstaged, singing a stern song to visitors, betraying an underlying nervousness about the dizzy times of the last few months. The waitresses are cheerful. As the sun goes down at 6:02, sending soft shafts of purple and sunset into one's backside, a restaurant bar looks over a vast swimming pool which looks over the palm-girt sea. Behind the bar is Lyle, a young man in his 20s, neat, polite, impressive, with the mandatory mustache that goes with his job. He does not resent anyone in the message. Your diligent pursuer of the truth suddenly sees it all. Lyle is the son of the resentful unemployed pineapple worker. He represents a different generation. He likes his job as a bartender, union rates, union hours, medical benefits no doubt, guaranteed retirement plan. Lyle represents the surrender. The violence is complete.

The missionaries, in the end, have won.

ments festered and grew on the island. There was the bitter realization that when the white man first came to the island the natives were lying on the beach, eating, drinking and making love—shocking the missionaries with their indolence. As a result, after years of colonization, the natives are all working. And the white man? Lying on the beach, eating, drinking and making love.

There was the bitter realization that fewer and fewer stretches of the precious, achingly lovely beaches were left for public access—the hotels reserving them for "tourists only." The real residents, the natives of the island, had trouble finding access to their own beaches (on those weekend hours when they weren't bartending, doing the hotel laundry or waiting on tables). There were, first isolated then more frequent, even of violence on the island. Strange, physical violence. Tourists, beach-head, would poison on tourists who were camped alone, sleeping in paradise

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